

IN THESE TIMES

Vol. 1, No. 31

June 22-28, 1977

40 Cents

Inside the Black Caucus



Nine members of the Black Congressional Caucus. Center: Yvonne Burke; clockwise from above left: Augustus Hawkins, Harold Ford, Barbara Jordan, William Clay, Walter Fauntroy, Shirley Chisholm, Charles Rangel, Ron Dellums. See page 11.

In this issue

Spanish Socialists run close second
Left has majority in many industrial areas.

National People's Action meets in D.C.
Neighborhood groups take on the bureaucrats.

3 Cedric Belfrage on torture in Uruguay
Once democratic, Uruguay now leads in fascist oppression.

5 Women athletes catching up
Their success in sports will depend on their own heads.

9

19

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Guest column by Matthew Edel

There's a pattern to the irrationality in New York City

Amid considerable election year rhetoric, Mayor Abraham Beame of New York City recently presented his \$13.9 billion budget for the 1977-78 fiscal year. Mandated by state and federal rescue plans to balance the budget by the coming year, New York has nominally met the requirement by cutting expenses, deferring payments to pension funds, and charging some of next year's expenses to this year's allowably unbalanced budget.

The mayor does project new deficits for the following two years, and even the new budget may go out of balance if federal aid and tax revenues fall short of the mayor's guesses.

Nevertheless, the document does represent a claim to bankers and Congress that the city has met its "obligations" to wield the budget axe, and a claim to voters that further cuts in services will not be needed before the upcoming mayoral election.

How well the budget serves the mayor's reelection hopes is of little concern. If Mayor Beame defeats his numerous opponents in the Democratic primary and the general election, it will be due to name recognition and machine support, not approval of his policies.

If he is defeated, it will be out of a sense of general disgust, not because any of his major opponents are articulating a critique of Beame's capitulation to the city's creditors. Little will or can change under his successor.

The election year budget is useful in that it allows a summing-up of the cuts in services, and the firings of city employees, that have gone on over the last two years. James O'Connor suggests in his book *The Fiscal Crisis of the State* that the budget reflects the state of the class struggle. This is quite clear in the case of New York City.

There are many possible ways to explain why New York has been hit by pressure for sudden budget cuts. There's a lot of debate in New York on the relative importance of industrial outmigration, bankers' collusion, federal policies and municipal politics to the city's debacle. But you don't need a full analysis of how the city got into fiscal trouble to begin to look critically at the actions the city took, at how they were affected by the lack of unity among working class groups, and at whether they represent consistent policy that can be understood and confronted.

Income and expenditures up.

Although New York has "held the line" on the budget, this does not mean that taxes and expenditures have not risen. The accompanying table compares the proposed budget to what the city actually took in and spent four years ago. These figures are up 36.3 percent, slightly more than inflation has increased the general price level.

Most of the increase on the income side comes from an increase in taxes and fees. State and federal aid has risen only 13 percent and the city has tried to limit property tax increases. So subway fare hikes, tuition at the City University, and sales, payroll and "nuisance" taxes have brought in most of the new money. When possible, in other words, the city has charged the worker, consumer and small business, but spared the real estate owner.

Among expenditures the largest increase is in "debt service payments." These interest and principal charges have gone up from 11 percent of the budget to 14 percent as the city's banker creditors have demanded repayment on past loans and have raised the interest rate on new loans. The increase would have been greater had the city's union pension funds not made funds available for converting short term into long term loans.

Total expenditures for the actual running of the city have risen by 31.8 percent, approximately what the general price inflation will have been over Beame's term of office. This should mean the city can buy

New York City Expense Budget (billions of dollars)

	1973-1974 Actual figures	1977-1978 Mayor's proposal	Percent changes
Income:			
State & Federal Aid	4.5 B	5.1 B	13.3
Property taxes	2.7	3.2	18.5
Other revenues (taxes, fees, and short-term borrowing for 1973-4.	3.0	5.6	86.6
TOTAL INCOMES	10.2 B	13.9 B	36.3
Expenses:			
Debt Service	1.1 B	1.9 B	72.7
Welfare, Human Resources	2.9	3.3	13.7
Education	2.3	3.4	47.8
Police & Fire	1.0	1.3	30.0
Health	0.9	1.0	11.1
Other	2.0	3.0	50.0
TOTAL EXPENSES	10.2 B	13.9 B	36.3
Total except for debt service	9.1	12.0	31.8

The budget reflects the class struggle... Big Business is testing what the worst conditions are that workers will tolerate.

about as much in the way of services as it did before the crisis.

As the table shows, however, health and welfare expenditures have been cut back in real terms, rising far less than the inflation rate.

Even though pay increases for city employees have been restricted by the Emergency Financial Control Board to less than the increase in living costs, there have been large cuts in the city's payroll. By the city's own figures it employs 20 percent fewer full-time workers than at the start of the budget crisis three years ago.

The real cut in employment is even greater because many part-time employees have been fired. What is more, the cuts have led to greater reductions in service than the employment figures alone show.

Cutbacks everywhere.

A few examples illustrate what has happened. In the schools, not only have class sizes risen and remedial programs and counseling been cut, but classrooms have been disrupted during the school year by constant changes in staffing. Grades have been combined and then separated. Classes have had four or five teachers during the year. Teachers have been shunted from school to school, depending on their seniority, as funds have been alternately cut and restored.

The police department has reduced back-up service and beat patrols. It has tried to keep patrol car assignments at the same level, even proposing putting one rather than two men in a car. But it has undercut its own efforts; the cars keep breaking down, since maintenance crews were fired to minimize layoffs of uniformed officers.

The fire department has reduced crew sizes, and cut back on inspections. Although a computer system was introduced to deploy firetrucks, response times have increased and the percentage of "serious structural fires" has risen.

Foster care, daycare and other human resource programs have also been cut back, often drastically, saving money on their specific budgets but adding to the case loads of the overburdened hospitals and welfare

systems. Even the city's attempts to tighten social service eligibility standards are often foiled by the system's own budget cutting, as record keeping and enforcement fall further behind.

Although New Yorkers from all parts of the city and all economic classes had many complaints about bureaucratic inefficiencies before the budget crisis broke, few if any have seen any improvement come from the cuts. Rather than being based on any democratic consensus of what was necessary and what was waste, or even on any competent management study, cuts in services have been made piecemeal, to whatever service or staff could be isolated politically at any given moment.

The resulting confusion and demoralization within city agencies has made the situation much worse. Those who work for the city have no sense of when, if ever, things will stabilize. They know their job may be on the line next, and that their working conditions deteriorate as their colleagues are fired. A war of worker against worker, of union against union, is forever on the verge of breaking out. Campus fights campus and department fights department within the City University, each trying to prove its relative importance to the city. Neighborhoods are similarly arrayed against each other, as the city meets one area's demands for the moment by shifting equipment from district to district, or closing one library or school to open another.

Splitting the opposition.

Left analyses of the situation all call for unity among city workers and their clients in the working or unemployed public. But this solidarity is extremely hard to achieve, given the pressure to respond to immediate attacks on specific services or jobs. The unevenness with which cuts are made, in this sense, serves very well to disrupt effective pressure politics, even if it does not yield "efficiency." The lack of a clear perception of a pattern to the cuts makes forging an opposition coalition harder.

Looking at the budgetary confusion, it is easy to see, as Frances Fox Piven has written, "A kind of bureaucratic politics has prevailed—the weakest elements of the agencies have been lopped off." It is also evident that the result is not equality in austerity. Business groups have gained in power; lower paid workers and the unemployed have suffered the most.

But such a view does not convince people that more can be done than to defend their own particular programs.

The task that the left may be failing to carry out is to show there may be more of a pattern to the crisis than first meets the eye.

In an essay entitled "The Decline of Urban Services: Who Needs People?" Carol A. Brown has suggested that "In the current recession capitalism no longer needs to spend money on people because it already has more people than it needs."

Budget cutting at random in New York may be a way of finding out, for the capitalists, what services it can do without, and what the worst conditions are that workers will tolerate. Business leaders may be willing to tolerate inefficiency in government, because that inefficiency is a useful experiment, at least as long as it does not affect them too directly.

If this is so, then New Yorkers, and workers in other cities, have more of a common enemy than they may think. The budget proposed by Mayor Beame sums up how much this enemy has gained.

Matthew Edel teaches in the urban studies department at Queens College, City University of New York and is a member of the editorial board of the *Review of Radical Political Economics*.

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, IL.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News, Janet Stevenson, Culture, Judy MacLean, Dan Marshall, David Moberg, National Staff, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm, Library.

ART

Jane Melnick, Art and Photography, Kerry Tremain, Design, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Susan Pearson, Robert Scheaffer, Elaine Truver, Production Assistants.

Printed at Merrill, Co., Hinsdale, IL, a Graphic Arts International Union (AFL-CIO) shop.

BUSINESS

Judee Gallagher, Advertising / Business, Torie Osborn, Circulation, Carol Becker, Office Manager.

BUREAUS

NEW YORK: David Mermelstein, 158 W. 81 St., New York, NY 10024, (212) 595-7665. SAN FRANCISCO: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, 4120 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 658-6754. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs, Arthur Kinoy, Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright ©1977 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without written permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to IN THESE TIMES, Circulation Department. Subscriptions are \$15 annually. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. IN THESE TIMES subscribes to the following: Africa News Service, Congressional Quarterly News Service, Editorial Research Reports, Gemini News Service, Internews, Liberation News Service, Pacific News Service, Peoples Translation Service, Reuter, Zodiac News Service. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition published June 22, 1977, for newsstand sales June 22-28.

Selling nuclear power

The Caddell memo outlines specific strategies to either neutralize or convince questioning constituencies of the value of nuclear power.

By Joe Conason
BOSTON—Jimmy Carter has apparently abandoned his campaign promise to limit the development of nuclear power. He now wants to build more reactors, faster than before, and the environmentalists who supported his candidacy feel cheated. Many of them blame energy boss James Schlesinger for Carter's turnaround on nuclear power, but there are others, closer to Carter, who are also culpable. Pat Caddell, the Cambridge pollster who put Carter in office, is one.

The Boston Clamshell Alliance recently obtained a confidential memo to the electric utility industry prepared by Caddell's research firm, Cambridge Reports, Inc. The nine-page, single-spaced report, dated Dec. 12, 1975, outlines a strategy for "stopping the erosion in support for nuclear power" that Caddell discovered after 18 months of "national attitudinal surveys."

As the polls for the electric utility survey were being completed, Caddell was going to work for the Carter campaign through his political polling company, Cambridge Survey Research, Inc. Since then, Caddell has become very close to Carter, he is often described as the only non-Georgian who has cracked the President's inner circle. His special expertise is responding to and shaping public opinion. Recently, the *New York Times* printed a Caddell-to-Carter memorandum that stressed the importance of style over substance.

While Caddell was advising Carter on how to address the antinuclear sentiment among voters, Caddell's assistant, Gene Pokorny, was warning the private utilities' executives in the December 18 memo that "public support for the electric utility industry is clearly on the decline," a situation that threatens the utilities' "vital role in the American economy."

Identifying hostile sectors.

The memo goes on to outline a strategy for coopting these anti-monopoly feelings, offering a series of methods for misleading and coercing antinuclear segments of the population, identified as women, blacks, members of the working class, poor people (those with "lower SES" (socio-economic status), and the young.

No one, of course, is more experienced at getting such people in line than Pat Caddell and his staff, the guys who put George McGovern in the box on election day 1972. Pokorny himself is the renowned whiz-kid who grabbed the Wisconsin primary for McGovern and put him on the road to the nomination. After the Nixon landslide Caddell, Pokorny and their colleagues retired to an office in Cambridge to plot campaigns for less noble but more lucrative causes.

No doubt their utilities work has paid them well, but it is not easy to find out precisely for whom the work has been done. The memo itself is addressed simply to "the electric utilities industry." Numerous calls to Pokorny were never returned.

A call to the Edison Electric Institute, a utility association that has been doing a lot of advertising that seems to be based on the memo's assumptions, brought an evasive response from spokesman Larry French. At first denying that the polling had been done for the Edison Institute, French added, "I vaguely recall a Cambridge Reports study on nuclear... offhand, I don't know specifically about

that study. I've heard it mentioned on occasion. I don't believe they work for us now."

Sharing the industry's assumptions.

The most troublesome aspect of the memo is that it shows that Carter's advisers share the assumptions of the energy industry when it comes to policy.

Pokorny states "the public continues to believe that the 'crisis' is essentially caused by the oil industry, with its allies the utilities, in their mutual quest for higher profits." This is not realistic he continues, adding that "the relationship between plentiful energy...and the overall health of the economy is also not clear to the public..."

This combination of disbelief in the basic energy problem and no clear sense of the energy/economy linkage, he says, allows the public the opportunity of looking favorably on those who say, "Why rush into a decision on nuclear." "Let's be extra careful," "We should stop stripmining coal," "Let's not allow the utilities to raise their rates some more." Such attitudes, Pokorny states, will lead to "decreased economic growth, lower job opportunities, higher energy costs."

No evidence is given to show all this because none is needed; this is what those who paid for the study already believe.

The people, according to Pokorny's research, have other mistaken ideas:

- "Fully 71 percent of the American pub-



Anti-nuclear demonstrations, like this one in Seabrook, N.H., are the target of industry propaganda.

lic believes the electric utilities have a profit margin significantly 'too high.'

- With regard to nuclear power, the public has serious doubts about the safety of the technology. They label nuclear power the 'most dangerous energy source...'

The memo also says that people are against relaxing clean-air standards and stripmining, and believe that solar energy will soon be available.

Pokorny notes, this has put the energy industry "on the defensive." He attributes these attitudes to ignorance, and urges the utilities to carry out a campaign of "careful education of facts and knowledge."

He suggests that the utility propagan-

da must convince us that there is an energy crisis, that it is not the fault of big business, that the crisis threatens our well-being, that we must rely on electricity from nuclear power and coal—and that the utility industry "deserves public support and an adequate rate of return on its investment."

A pro-nuke campaign.

The rest of the memo is devoted to an example of what the utilities' propaganda campaign should do, entitled, "A Pro-Nuclear Communications Strategy."

Pokorny notes that support for nuclear power development is lowest in three

Continued on page 20.

Spain: Socialists win big vote

By Bernard H. Moss
In parliamentary elections held last Wednesday, the Spanish people voted to end 40 years of fascist dictatorship and to begin to construct a democratic state. Early returns, which were very slow in arriving, indicated they had rejected the neo-francoist sirens of the Popular Alliance and had chosen to continue the democratic process with the parties of the center and left.

The big winner, as expected, was Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez, whose party, with over one-third of the votes, won a clear majority in the Senate and a near majority in the Congress. His party was closely followed by the PSOE, the Spanish Socialist Workers party, which recaptured its place, won 41 years ago, as a leading political force in Spain. Together with the Communists, whose general programmatic orientation they share, they were able to win majorities in many industrial centers and in Catalonia.

The campaign, which lasted only three weeks, was surprisingly free and open. Carried on with great tolerance and discipline, it was clearly dominated by the parties of the left. Nearly a million Spaniards attended rallies to wave red flags, sing the Internationale and listen to the Socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez and the Communists Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibaruri. The Communist meetings, by far the largest, were overwhelmingly working class.

The Socialists, led by the young labor lawyer from the barrios of Sevilla, rose spectacularly in popularity as they began to tap the new-found militancy of middle class and working class youth. Their success demonstrated that 40 years of censorship and repression have not dampened the Spanish ardor for socialism.

The election turned out to be a four-



The Socialist Workers party, led by Felipe Gonzalez (above), received 26 percent of the vote to 34 percent for Adolfo Suarez's Democratic Center, and 8 percent for the Communists and the Popular Alliance.

way contest between the two working class parties, Socialists and Communists, and the two parties of the financial oligarchy, the neo-francoist alliance of Manuel Fraga, and the neo-democratic party of Suarez. While the most ideological parties, the Communists and the Alliance, exchanged invective and insult, the two major parties battled for the huge and undecided middle-of-the-road vote. Almost inadvertently the young Felipe became something of an idol, his dark hand-

some militancy rivalling the drawing room urbanity of Suarez. In the end, however, the timid and unpolitical voter felt safer with the Prime Minister.

Suarez, whose ad hoc coalition of former Francoist and liberal personalities lacked both structure and program, did not actively campaign. Assuming the basic spirit of conformity instilled by 40 years of fascism, he relied upon his control over the communications and administrative network and the prestige of his office to carry him to victory. Warning against the demagogic promises of the left, he promised to continue the responsible democratization of Spain.

He also benefited from influence over the local officials who conducted the election process. Truly free elections were never expected to take place in those rural areas dominated by local landlords and fascist officials. More disturbing, however, were the reports of widespread irregularities in urban areas where many thousands of working class voters were turned away from the polls for so-called technical reasons.

The victory of Suarez is not without its problems. Even with a near majority in the Congress he will not be able to continue the democratic process without the help of the left, notably the Socialists. They have asserted that they will not cooperate with a government that wishes to build democracy with the economic sacrifices of working people. Furthermore, without the cooperation of the left trade unions, the center cannot hope to revive the faltering Spanish economy. Thus, despite its minority position the left will probably be strong enough to ensure that a democratic Spain be a socially progressive one.

Bernard H. Moss writes regularly on European affairs for *In These Times*.

Discrimination OK if before 1965

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

With several sharp slashes of the judicial knife the Nixon-tainted Supreme Court has been paring away the power of civil rights advocates to use the courts to end discrimination.

In the latest instance the Court limited the rights of minority and women workers to contest prejudicial seniority systems. The May 31 rulings came on cases filed by a group of Mexican-American truck drivers and a United Air Lines stewardess. Although union and civil rights attorneys are still puzzling about what the full impact of the decisions will be, they are convinced that it will now be much harder for most workers to reverse the effects of deeply embedded discrimination in employment by court action.

Joseph Eddins, associate general counsel of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, says the "detrimental" decision will "curtail how far we can go in these seniority cases." Over the past decade the EEOC has pressed for reforms of seniority systems that lock minorities and women into second-rate jobs.

The thorny issue has often pitted civil rights advocates against labor unions, especially in economic downturns. Unions generally defend seniority systems as benefiting all workers and argue that white men with higher seniority should not be punished because of past discrimination. Full employment is their answer to the problem of layoffs.

Union and management resistance. Through lawsuits, out of court settle-

ments and consent decrees the EEOC has won back pay and retroactive award of competitive seniority (which determines rights to transfer and promotion) to victims of discrimination.

Seniority systems themselves have also been reformed, usually to move away from the narrow departmental seniority favored by management towards plant-wide seniority. Most unions and employers have resisted changes.

The major settlements, such as those affecting AT&T and the steel industry, only came after courts began assessing monetary penalties in 1972, according to William Gould, author of the recently published *Black Workers in White Unions*. Even then, he said, the Republican administration tempered the effects of the decisions by arranging consent decrees, which provided only minimal back pay awards and adjustments of seniority while making corporations and unions immune from further legal action.

"In one way or another," Gould says, "the vast majority of seniority systems act in a discriminatory fashion, either locking minorities in or excluding them from the workforce by layoff. This Supreme Court has furthered such discrimination by this decision."

Past discrimination doesn't count.

The Supreme Court ruling was made in a case involving T.I.M.E.-D.C. trucking firm and the Teamsters. Mexican-American workers had attacked a seniority system that separated the virtually all-white long-haul truckers from city dockworkers and truckers, who lost their accumu-

lated seniority if they transferred to the more lucrative "line driver" positions.

Although the Court agreed that the company "engaged in a systemwide pattern or practice of employment discrimination against minority members in violation of Title VII" of the Civil Rights Act, it ruled that workers who suffered discrimination before the act went into effect in 1965 were not entitled to any redress of past wrongs. The Court ruled that even though it perpetuated the evils of past discrimination the seniority system did not violate the law.

Observers see this as part of a trend on the part of the Court to insist that "intent" to discriminate must be shown, not simply discriminatory impact. In effect, the Court is making it progressively harder to win cases that challenge racial discrimination.

A worker who suffered discrimination after 1965 may still seek seniority rights that he or she might have had if there had been no discrimination. However, the Court in the Teamster case and in other rulings did make such challenges more difficult. Statistical evidence can be used to establish patterns of racial or sexual discrimination, but an individual worker must now show "that he was a potential victim of unlawful discrimination."

Putting the burden on individuals.

Besides putting the onus of proof on the individual rather than on the class of workers in a plant or industry, the Court also ruled that workers could only seek legal relief if they filed a complaint with-

in 180 days of the act of discrimination.

That policy was set out in a decision about a United Air Lines flight attendant, who had claimed that her layoff when she was pregnant denied her legitimately accumulated seniority when she was later rehired.

The whole seniority controversy hinges on a clause stuck into the 1964 Civil Rights Act in a legislative compromise to protect "bona fide" seniority systems. The Court majority agreed with most unions that the clause, Section 703-H, exempted seniority systems already existing at the time of the act.

A sharp dissent.

Justices Marshall and Brennan sharply disputed that view. The majority ruling, they wrote, would have a "devastating impact" on all the minority workers who had been shunted into menial jobs before 1965. Gould, a Stanford law professor and consultant to the EEOC in 1966, charges that "the Court just distorted legislative history terribly to deny an earlier generation of minority workers their rights. Congress didn't have the slightest clue about these problems of departmental seniority. What Congress was concerned about was unemployed blacks who would come off the street and displace whites on the job."

Labor attorney Staughton Lynd points out that in 1972 amendments to the Civil Rights Act, "Congress looked kindly on what the courts had been saying about seniority systems and approved the idea that perpetuation of prior discrimination

Continued on page 20.

Arnold Miller wins in Mineworkers

Arnold Miller, incumbent president of the United Mine Workers union (UMW), won reelection last week and called on union critics to "come forth and recognize who the enemy is, which is the mine operators." Demanding that internal union divisions be healed, Miller said that he will press for "immediate" negotiations between the union and the bargaining arm of the coal industry. (JTT, June 8.)

With votes counted in 70 percent of the union's 850 locals, Miller received 44,126 votes, about 41 percent of those tabulated. Since his two opponents won a combined total of almost 64,000 votes, observers question whether Miller has sufficient support to put the union back together.

Miller ran especially strong in southern and middle West Virginia (Districts 17 and 29), the two largest districts, and in western Pennsylvania (District 5), where the director supported his candidacy.

Despite pre-election doubts, turnout was relatively high. Between 55 and 60 percent of the UMW's 277,000 members went to the polls.

Lee Roy Patterson, a supporter of former UMW president Tony Boyle who was ousted by the Miners for Democracy slate in 1972, won 35 percent of the vote and threatened to challenge the election results. "The only reason I lost this election is because it was stolen from me," he declared. "Personally, I feel compelled to challenge it."

The UMW constitution states that the Executive Board can order a new election. Though board members overwhelmingly supported Patterson for president, some believe that a rerun would only further weaken an already chaotic union. Gene Mitchell, Patterson's candidate for vice president, is reported to have said that he will not ask for a rerun and will oppose Patterson if he requests one. Patterson's decision is expected to hinge on the final tally of votes.

Patterson conceded that a "major factor" in his defeat was last minute revelations that officials of the United Steel Workers union (USW) contributed \$45,000 to his campaign. His remark that he



would "definitely" consider merging the UMW into the USW if elected probably cost him votes.

Harry Patrick, Miller's former compatriot in the Miners for Democracy who received 26 percent of the vote, entered the campaign late and was not as well-known as Miller. In the final weeks of the campaign, Patrick picked up 15 points over the last poll and "was clearly charging while the other candidates were drifting," comments Bob Gumpert, a Patrick aide.

After conceding defeat, Patrick ruled out an election challenge and called for all factions to unite behind Miller in preparation for contract talks and an expected strike this winter. The contract expires Dec. 6.

—Dan Marshall

New directions for Socialist party USA



Delegates from around the country gathered in Milwaukee Memorial Day weekend for the national convention of the Socialist Party-USA. The party, claiming the tradition of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas, sought to turn from its factional past and move towards a program of unity with the disparate elements of the non-Leninist left.

The question of whether the party should orient itself towards other groups was settled early. Pro-unity and pro-feminist delegates succeeded in seating an Ohio delegate who was also a member of the New American Movement. Older members and the Florida delegation resisted the move, but the convention as a whole endorsed the prospect of increased coordination and possible mergers with other groups.

A resolution on the need for closer ties with other organizations expressed the hope that "fraternal relations be deepened with the People's party, New American Movement, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Jewish Socialist Youth Bund, and the Movement for a New Society."

In the same vein the convention's participants eyed the "existence of dozens—if not hundreds—of community and university based socialist groups" and suggested that its representatives "press for a national conference aimed at reaching these groups and bring them together to explore the next steps toward national coordination and the ultimate unification of the democratic left."

The possibility of a merger with the People's party was also discussed, though action on it was referred to the national committee.

Turning to internal matters, the delegates' attention was focused on a criticism of the party's position on feminism and the role of housework in the division of labor. Beatrice Herman, who helped organize the women's caucus, presented the convention with the position that "since these women [housewives] constitute a major component of the working class

and are prominent transmitters of capitalist culture...the party [should] recognize that women are in a transitional stage in renouncing their roles in the capitalist system." The adoption of the resolution on housework represented a departure from the organization's previous orientation.

Depending on how you count and who you include, there have been four "international" organizations of the world left. The First International, of which Karl Marx was a founder, formed and dissolved in the late 19th century. A Second International, in which the Socialist party of Eugene Debs participated, began in 1890, lasted until the outbreak of WWI, and was reconstituted as the "Socialist International" after the war. A Third International was founded in 1919 to represent the world Communist parties. A Fourth International was begun by Leon Trotsky in 1936.

This thumbnail history of international socialist organizations provides the context for the other major issue or the convention's agenda: should the Socialist party maintain its application to join the Socialist International?

A majority of the delegates favored affiliation, but a significant number of delegates opposed it. Opponents felt that the dominant parties within the Socialist International, the British Labor party and the German Social Democrats, could not be considered socialist.

The delegates also applauded the creative forms of "socialist direct action" practiced by groups such as the Clamshell Alliance. Addressing the energy crisis, the convention adopted a resolution calling for the "complete socialization of the energy industry" and for "ecologically responsible sources of energy, cheap public transportation, and worker control of utilities." The resolution on energy specified that socialization meant that "energy capitalists would not be reimbursed," as presumably they would be under a nationalization scheme.

Thanks to John Acher and Kenrick G. Kissell for information in this report.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Community army descends on D.C.

1200 community activists from 60 cities came to Washington demanding more action and less talk.

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—“The angriest people in the neighborhood from all over the country” was how one observer described the June 12-13 National People's Action. Twelve hundred activists from the community organizations in more than 60 cities met for two days with government leaders about policies that force neighborhood deterioration.

“Neighborhood people have been cheated, lied to and systematically denied their right to control the decisions that affect their lives and communities. Contrary to what some may think, we *do* have a national urban policy, and it is one of neglect,” said Gale Cincotta, head of National People's Action.

Fighting neighborhood deterioration is complex, and the road has led through a maze of local agencies regulating banking, insurance, housing, law enforcement and utility rates to Washington, where many of the policies and laws that are killing neighborhoods are made.

Locally, the groups tend to use people power in confrontation with those political or economic power to wrest changes. The national conference adopted the same approach. The conference was two days of steady confrontation.

Top administration leaders declined to attend; James Schlesinger, Carter's energy chief, and Patricia Harris, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), both refused. But on Sunday a parade of undersecretaries, deputy assistants and special aides appeared at the conference site, the Magnolia-shaded gymnasium of Howard University.

All were smiling, well-groomed and eager to explain how his or her department didn't really have jurisdiction, or how it was impossible to make commitments without further study, or how laws must be rewritten before the agency could meet NPA's demands.

The next day, the convention broke into groups of 100 to 300 for more of the same, but this time in the halls of Congress and the offices of federal officials.

People were having none of the excuses being offered. Equivocating answers drew shouts, and when demands were refused, people booed and yelled insults.

Very smart-assed.

The flavor of the proceedings was captured by Gale Cincotta's words to Bill Longbrake, special assistant to the chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Longbrake tried to tell the group, “We are sympathetic to your concerns. We go after the laws you want.”

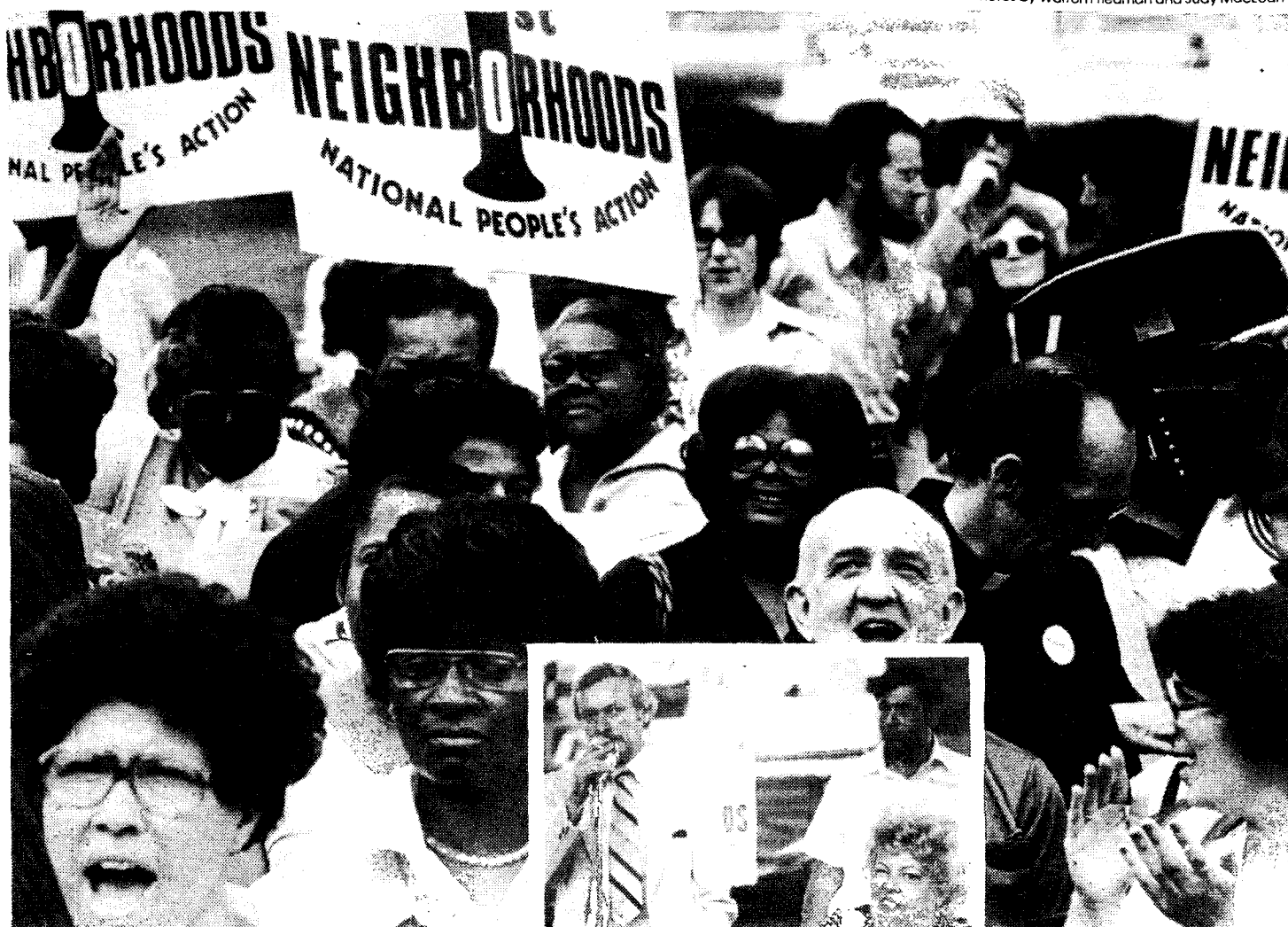
Cincotta interrupted him and pointed out that FDIC had testified against strong anti-redlining laws. (Redlining is the practice by banks and savings and loans of refusing to grant mortgages and home improvement loans in neighborhoods they've decided to write off economically. In effect, they draw a red line around the area, and no money goes in to improve it. It is a prime link in the chain of events leading to urban blight, according to NPA.)

“You're really being very smart-assed,” Cincotta told Longbrake. “Why don't you just sit down and see if you can behave a bit better.”

He did. People applauded wildly.

Broad as the U.S.A.

Conference participants were remarkable in their diversity. They were poor and middle income, young veterans of SDS, middle aged veterans of World War II



National People's Action's June 13 rally on the Capitol steps. Inset: Gale Cincotta reacts to an equivocating answer from a federal bureaucrat.

and elderly veterans of a continual struggle to survive. About a third were black, including much of the visible leadership. Ethnic groups from Portuguese to Puerto Rican were there, and the range of regional accents as speakers made demands was as broad as the U.S.A.

The community organizations involve such diverse constituencies by avoiding issues like busing that might divide their members. They concentrate in areas where everyone—black and white, poor and middle income—is being victimized the same way—through high utility prices or redlining, for instance.

The group was proud of its colorful unity. Ten busloads descended on James Schlesinger's Arlington, Va., house demanding that he stop the automatic passing of natural gas hikes by pipeline companies to the consumer and that he support national legislation for “lifeline” utility rates. (Lifeline rates would give small residential customers a low rate on enough power for necessities.)

“I'll bet this is the first time you've seen real people around here,” yelled one ex-

uberant woman to Schlesinger's affluent neighbors.

Disorganized guerilla army.

The conference resembled a colorful, disorganized guerilla army action. It was not a time to set agendas, hammer out demands or take votes; that was done in a series of meetings among leadership of groups associated with NPA. Some participants from other groups did complain that the conference seemed staged and that there was no time to discuss the way demands were shaped.

Efforts to bring other groups into last-minute planning led to some late-night and early-morning leadership meetings, as well as considerable confusion. The exact nature of one Capitol Hill confrontation was not known by most participants until it was in progress.

Joe Akey, chair of PAC (People Acting for Change) in New Haven, Conn., explained how insurance redlining became one of the conference issues. Like banks, insurance companies “redline” by cancelling homeowner's insurance

for entire neighborhoods. Homeowners are supposed to get FAIRplan insurance at rates 10 percent conventional ones, but Akey says often they can't get coverage at all and that FAIRplan actually charges 200 to 300 percent above the going rate.

“We went to a planning meeting in March and said this problem was developing in New Haven. Come to find out, it's happening all over,” Akey said.

So a workshop met with a Federal Insurance Administration official who agreed to hold local hearings on insurance redlining if community groups request them, to disclose who's on FAIRplan (crucial to documenting the existence of redlining, which the industry denies) and to investigate complaints from neighborhood groups and give them a report within 60 days.

To hell with being afraid.

As important as the demands the bureaucrats and congressional representatives agreed to meet is the shared sense of fighting everyone took home.

“I used to be afraid of being black and trying to fight City Hall, but to hell with being afraid. With the number of people we have, we can fight anyone,” said Barbara Harris of Carolina Action in Durham, N.C.

Gladys McGrew, head of the St. Clair Superior Coalition in Cleveland, said it was her first conference and the action at Schlesinger's house gave her ideas. A small tire vulcanizing plant in her neighborhood creates a mess all day but its owner goes to a quiet suburban neighborhood at night. “We can do something like this to him, go out to his neighborhood and see how he likes the problem being brought out where he lives,” she said.

She summed up a common conference attitude: “I've lived in my home 30 years and we're trying to keep the area up, but we just can't get any cooperation from the government. We're not a bunch of hippies or radicals. We're all good citizens. But the people of this country are getting a raw deal.”

Gale Cincotta compared the community organizing movement of today with the building of unions. “Years of hard work went into building locals and national federations. Years of hard work lie ahead for community organizing. Yet we should approach these years with anticipation and high expectations,” she said.

What was accomplished

“You yourself are the fall guys. You let them get away with it and we have to pay for it,” said Natalie Schneiderman of Massachusetts Fairshare to a Federal Power Commission official. She could have been speaking to any of the officials NPA confronted that weekend. Here are highlights of what was won in two days:

Community Development Funds:

HUD agreed to an appeal process where community groups can appeal the use of Community Development Funds, which often go to pet projects of city hall and downtown business rather than neighborhood improvement. A policy of “double dollars”—matching funds for housing rehabilitation in low and middle income areas was also agreed to.

Law enforcement:

The Justice department agreed to fund only legitimate community groups with federal community anti-crime funds, and to look into NPA charges

that Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funding is directed away from community needs.

Mortgage/Banking:

Federal regulatory agencies agreed to enforce the right to apply for a loan (many redlining victims are refused over the phone before they even file an application) and to direct banks to advise people where they can appeal if loans are refused. The agencies also agreed to train investigators and follow up community complaints of loan discrimination, and to meet with community groups before and after regular examinations of banks and savings and loans.

Energy:

The staff of the Federal Power Commission agreed to present NPA demands to the commission, including those for local hearings before pipeline companies can pass on the cost of gas to local gas companies, and lifeline utility rates.

To the wire at Bell Tel

By Dan Marshall
Staff Writer

"A gracious hello. This is the telephone company. We are not subject to city, state or federal legislation. We are omnipotent," snorts Ernestine, the nasal-voiced switchboard operator created by Lily Tomlin. While this comical character is straight out of the 1940s, it reflects a lingering popular image of operators—a group of harried, middle-aged women hunched over "cord boards," plugging in calls and fielding customer complaints.

An updated version of Tomlin's routine would feature Ernestine poised at a TSPS, a Traffic Service Position System, the latest technology for handling operator-assisted calls. Instead of plugging in wires, she would punch lighted buttons for different calls. Instead of manually tabulating toll charges, she would let digital numerals record the correct amounts.

In her work room would be a chart labeled "Complex Worktime Results" to keep track of the average seconds spent to complete each call. Unless Ernestine achieved a satisfactory rate of productivity she would be out looking for another job.

TSPS machines, introduced in the early 1970s, are one example of the myriad of technological hardware now employed by the Bell Telephone System to increase productivity, cut labor costs, improve customer service and swell company profits.

The human implications of this new technology is one of the items now being discussed in contract negotiations between Bell and several labor unions.

The principal talks involve the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (AT&T) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA), which represents 500,000 workers at Bell's 24 operating companies. (The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and several independent unions bargain for another 200,000.)

Negotiations opened May 19 with both sides anticipating that a settlement would be reached before the August 6 expiration of the national contract.

Rapid technological innovation.

"We are in the era of very rapid introduction of new technology into the Bell System," writes Ian Ross, a vice president of Bell Labs, in an AT&T magazine. "These...new systems are changing the nature of the telephone business by reducing capital and expense requirements, providing new opportunities for new revenues and, in many ways, changing the nature of the work our employees perform."

The driving force behind their increased use of technology, says Ross, is the rapid decrease in the size and costs of electronic components. Bell is replacing electro-mechanical equipment, which contains moving parts, with integrated circuits, micro-processors, mini-computers and lightwave communications devices.

The No. 4 Electronic Switching System (ESS), for example, can handle three times as many calls as its predecessor in one-third the floor space, and requires fewer people to run and is less prone to maintenance costs. The newest ESS, the 1-A model recently installed in Chicago, can handle 200,000 calls per hour with one-fifth the maintenance crew.

The effect of this whirlwind progress, say union members, is a dramatic loss of job opportunities and a deterioration in working conditions. From 1973-76 the Bell System eliminated 100,000 jobs. In the process the productivity rate rose to six times the national average.

Bell management claims that this "workforce reduction" has mainly been accomplished through attrition, and that many workers have been retrained for other company jobs. Layoffs have occurred, however, in New England, New Jersey, California and the South-Central states.

TSPS machines, introduced in the 1970s, are just one example of the myriad of technological hardware now being used by the Bell Telephone System to shrink labor costs and swell company profits. The human implications of this new technology are being avoided by "Ma Bell."



Illinois Bell—by Bob Frett

New concern for job security.

In past negotiations CWA has been content to compensate job loss with high wage settlements, more vacation time and improved pension benefits. The federal government recently found that the wages of switchboard operators and line construction workers (who together constitute 77 percent of telephone workers) have increased faster than those of the national workforce in the last decade.

But the union has shifted its priorities this year. For the first time union officers are emphasizing job security and talking about a national strike.

"There's a very strong feeling among our members about job security. The frustration out there is incredible," CWA-president Glenn Watts recently told the *Wall Street Journal*.

The union aims to spread the available work through a variety of demands—all lumped under the vaguely-defined concept of "job security."

Their main goal, which could be reached by additional days off or a cut in the work week to 32 hours, is to reduce the number of hours worked per year without a reduction in pay.

Other "job security" demands include the elimination of subcontracting, voluntary overtime, flex-time scheduling and "an automation clause to protect workers against technological unemployment and erosion of existing jobs."

The CWA members contacted by IN THESE TIMES are skeptical, however, that the union will make significant job security gains. They note a general feeling of cynicism and disillusionment among the rank and file that is perpetuated by the union's failure to explain the issues and specify which are important enough to provoke a strike.

A union machine.

Since Watts was elected president in 1974 he has consolidated a union machine, many members believe, that has sucked initiative and decision-making power from the locals. "Among young labor leaders, dissatisfaction with the union is widespread. The international has a machine and they control the contract vote however they want it to go," comments Jewell White, president of Local 5011 in Joliet, Ill. She is also president of the National Black Communications

Coalition (NBCC), a group that fights racial discrimination in the union and the company.

White points to the 1974 contract as an example of union manipulation. "The strike vote went over two-to-one the last time around. The next week we came back with the same issues and the contract was ratified," she says.

While the settlement won a total wage increase (including cost of living raises) of 31 percent, it encountered stiff opposition from rank and filers. "I frankly had to consider a bit of a bath of fire, in terms of the reaction afterwards," admits Watts.

Dissatisfaction is especially prevalent in the New York area where 38,000 craftsmen struck for seven months in 1971. "The attitude towards the union here is very bad. Members are still bitter that when we came back in 1971 we only got a dollar raise and made no substantial gains. There's a lot of disorientation among workers because they're not really attuned to the issues," says Dennis Serrette, former vice president of New York Local 1101, the largest in the country.

Tom Shaeffer, a former CWA member in New York, complains that "there's a quasi-marriage between the company and the union." Instead of encouraging membership involvement, "all the locals around here have reduced their membership meetings. Local 1109 now has only two meetings per year. They don't even collect dues money directly from the people."

May be too late already.

Serrette questions whether the union will fight for its stated list of demands. Meaningful action on job security, he says, would have to include contract provisions to retrain people for more sophisticated equipment and "some sort of automation clause which says that you can't be laid off as a result of automation, but would have to be retrained."

Jewell White agrees that an "automation clause" is a possible solution but suspects that automation may have caused irreparable damage. "If the national leadership would have called a nationwide protest when Bell Telephone started talking about this new equipment, we wouldn't have lost the number of jobs that we have. The same type that Ohio

Bell workers called last year. They protested when the company instituted the phone marts where commercial people would sell phones over the counter to customers. The whole state went out and the judge eventually ruled in their favor," she says.

CWA members also doubt that the union will confront a long-standing policy in Bell Telephone—harassment of employees. "The union is not an ongoing struggle union that can deal with harassment tactics," says Serrette. "Harassment has been a company practice as long as I can remember. Now they're stepping it up with more plans: productivity control, quality control, absences and tardy control, reliability control."

"All of these are a direct product of the automation age and lend themselves to harassment to lower the number of personnel. To either force them out or harass them enough to quit."

Members also dispute the company's contention that new technology necessarily improves customer service. "When you're in the Bell System," says White, "you're under such pressure for productivity, absenteeism, tone and manner, that there's no way you can provide better service. An operator is not asked to use good judgment when processing calls, but only to follow rigid rules. And that means tangling with customers."

While Watts admits that "absentee control plans developed and administered by management" top the list of members' complaints, the problem receives only token recognition in the union bargaining agenda.

Election year strike.

Though many members question the union's willingness to aggressively confront the company, some still expect a strike. The union has commissioned a special study to assess the impact of a nationwide walkout.

Watts argues that "in a curious way, the Bell System has become a victim of its own technology. Telephone equipment has become so complex that it can be maintained and repaired only by highly trained professionals—the people who belong to the CWA." He concludes that supervisors would have difficulty patching up machines that frequently malfunction.

Critics flatly disagree with Watts' claim.

"The improved technology that has been added by the phone company has made them practically impervious to any hurt by a strike," explains Tom Shaeffer. A strike would immediately affect the installation and repair of home and business phones, but would have to continue for months before in-house hardware is crippled by breakdowns.

Serrette expects a strike for different reasons, however. "This is an election year for Watts and for the first time he's had a chance to feel his oats on a national scale. I look towards a strike, though not a long one, as a show of strength by Watts."

Whatever happens nationally, Bell workers will likely vent their frustrations through local wildcats.

From all indications the union is bargaining from a weak position. Only its economic demands appear to be realizable, considering AT&T's spectacular profits. In the third quarter of 1976 the corporation became the first to earn an after-tax income of \$1 billion.

"Even though job security is the thing this year, I don't feel very confident that we're going to get all that we're looking for," concludes Serrette. "We're dealing with a very arrogant system that doesn't feel threatened by the union."

Inside the beast

By Ray Reece

The Bell System spends millions of dollars every year to nourish the illusion that it is a generous, progressive employer that takes special pains to keep its workers happy. Through a variety of internal publications and training programs the system attempts to create the same impression among its workers.

There are increasing signs that this public image is cracking under the weight of widespread allegations of corporate bribery and monopoly practices, not to

mention skyrocketing telephone rates and billion-dollar profit figures.

Likewise, disillusionment appears to be rising among Bell System workers as the system, in its quest for greater productivity and profit, has begun to take on the characteristics of a military institution.

In *These Times* recently talked with several Bell employees in Austin, Texas (Southwestern Bell). Their experiences, while not necessarily reflective of all Bell workers, seem to be common throughout the system.

Ken and Richard



Installer Ken Jester (left) and repeaterman Richard Ariola (right).

Ave Bonar

Richard Ariola, a Southwestern Bell repeaterman, and Ken Jester, an installer (both with the system for more than five years), confirmed that Cherie Wentworth's experience is very common in the Bell System.

As Richard and Ken describe it, the more noxious of the Bell System's "attitudes" are applied informally by supervisory and management personnel who have learned to cover their tracks as they climbed the corporate ladder. They are hired for such abilities.

The company is especially drawn toward "anybody with a military officer's record, who's used to taking orders and passing them on without questioning them," says Ken. What is sought is a man "with drive behind him, the motivation to go up in the company...willing to step on people's toes and cut their throats at the same time if it helps him."

In the absence of such devotion for rank-and-file workers the company uses means to ensure loyalty and productivity. One, newly introduced, is a "unit rating system" through which the worker accumulates "points" for completing a given task. These points do not add up to more money for the worker, but are counted in periodic evaluations of job performance.

Each worker is supposed to average 10 points per work-hour. The catch is that certain common tasks do not count. Ken, for example, gets so many points for installing a phone, but should he drive to a house where no one answers the door, he gets no points for his time. He has to work faster on his next call to try and catch up.

"So far they haven't pressed this all the way," he says. "They use it as a left-handed stick to hit you with." Come evaluation time, these and other items are drawn from your file. "Very seldom do they have anything really substantial to hang you on, so they sandbag you, bring up things you did three years ago, just keep piling it on until they weight you down, until it looks like you're a bad boy."

Such tactics of isolation and intimidation are reinforced these days, says Ken, by a general deterioration in the telephone worker's sense of pride or craftsmanship. System-wide speed-up (more work, same wages), along with a trend toward automation and dilution of craft skills through assignment of workers to ancillary unskilled tasks is having an effect.

The company has taken to hiring college students during the summer, quick-training them, and cutting them loose on jobs usually done by skilled installers. When the jobs are finished, says Ken, em-

ployees like himself frequently have to retrace the students' paths, mending errors and cleaning up sloppy work. "It gives me something to do," he says, "but it's poor quality, and it turns the public against the phone company."

The installer as salesman.

Ken is also disturbed at being expected to function as a salesman. "An installer is supposed to sell five phones a month average (i.e., to persuade the customer to accept more phones than he or she had contracted for)." This engenders in the customer "a very hostile attitude, as though you're holding a gun to his head to force him to buy those phones. I've gone into an efficiency apartment with three trimlines in my hand and felt like a fool because the guy's only got one outlet in the whole place... I'm not a salesman, I'm a skilled worker. My job is to use my head and my hands at the same time.

Most chilling of all to Ken is the prospect of increasing automation and customer "self-service." "They've got in my field what they call the supermarket program, where you pick up your phones and take them home and plug them in, and they turn them on at the central office. This eliminates the installer. It upsets you when you go out and set up a house with these little modular connections, knowing they are eventually going to replace you."

Ken's anger is building. "I believe the company is deliberately trying to destroy the worker's sense of security. They don't want you to feel any strength at all in your position. They want you to feel like your very existence, your next breath depends on them."

Ken, a Communications Workers of America steward, has long been a union man. "I've worked for outfits that were not union, and I know what it's like. It's the union that has gotten us our benefits—retirement, vacation, pay-scale... You can't get somebody like the phone company to just cough it up on their own."

It was also the union, he says, that alone made an effort to prepare male workers for the influx of women into their ranks four years ago. "The company did nothing in advance, but the union came out and told us, 'Look, these women have a right to the same thing you do. They're supporting families. They've got to survive too.' The union stressed that we must not be hostile toward the women, because when we are, the company picks up on it and uses it to create havoc in the ranks."

Ray Reece is an assistant editor on the *Texas Observer*.

Cherie



Ray Reece

Three years ago at the age of 27 Cherie Wentworth went to work for Southwestern Bell as a cable splicer. This is an "outdoor craft job" traditionally reserved for men. Shirley took the position not as a gesture of women's liberation but because she needed the higher wages.

At the time she applied Bell was looking for women to fill quotas set by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Cherie was hired quickly and thought at first she might have found a promising occupation. But within a couple of weeks, at pole-climbing school in San Antonio, she got her first taste in a long diet of bad medicine.

Through direct and indirect means Cherie and the other women at the school were discouraged from the outset. They were told that pole-climbing is too difficult for women. They could try it if they wanted to, but they probably wouldn't make it. Some didn't. The ones who did, including Cherie, succeeded partly because they had each other for encouragement.

Once in the field, however, Cherie was assigned to the first of a series of all-male crews. The first few months were rough. She was sent to work in small towns far from her home, staying in motels. It was winter and she had to climb poles in sleet and snow. The work was made more difficult by unsupportive, usually hostile supervisors who routinely gave her jobs

they thought she couldn't do.

"I was either constantly checked on," she says, "or constantly ignored. A job well done was almost never recognized, but even insignificant errors were noted."

Another major obstacle was the equipment she had to work with. Her cable-splicing tools, designed for men's hands, were painfully too large for her own. Likewise her gloves and the spiked "climbers" that she strapped to her boots. She was ever in danger of slipping loose and "burning" a pole as she slid to the ground. She requested women's climbers but they never arrived.

Still, she excelled at her job and was sent back to school for more instruction in cable-splicing.

At length she was sent to work alone on underground cable in the countryside, where she continued to do top quality work. Then came a new supervisor for whom, according to some of Cherie's coworkers at the time, it would have been a feather in his cap to pry her from her job.

He assigned her, during a lull in cable-splicing, to an indoor clerical job at a Bell Control Center. Here, too, entering data on a calculator, Cherie excelled.

Weeks became months indoors.

She was to have stayed at the Control Center a week or two. That stretched to eight months, throughout which she received the wages of a cable-splicer.

Repeated attempts to return to the field were met with excuses, as well as congratulations for her admirable work in the woman's job she was now doing.

"I finally realized," she says, "that none of the outdoor supervisors wanted me on their crews. I no longer had a crew to go back to."

So, 18 months after hiring on, Cherie quit the Bell System. Her bitterness now is aimed at management personnel, not at her male coworkers. "They were sexists all right, but most of them were pretty supportive. It was the company attitude that got me. It's a deliberate attitude that filters down to supervisors: these women, it's no good; we've got to keep pushing them out till the government changes its mind."

IN THE WORLD

Latin America in the '70s The Generals

Democratic capitalism: is it dead?

Part I

Latin America's new rulers want to provide the best climate for foreign investment: no strikes, low wages.

During the early '70s, a great deal was written about the new options that were available to Latin American countries. Much was made of the different development experiences and challenges to the U.S. role in the hemisphere that were emerging in countries like Peru. In Peru's military nationalism, proponents of independent Third World development believed they had at last found a case of a non-communist path to industrialization that combined the redistribution of wealth with efficiency and outward friendship towards the U.S.

The rise of independent national regimes aligned with the Third World also produced important regional agreements like the Andean Pact as an alternative to an exclusively U.S. orientation. Brazil was seen as a model of capitalist expansion—a path to development that could compete, peacefully and unobtrusively, with socialist models.

This approach, however, overlooked the persistence of dependent relationships between the U.S. and all the countries in the region. It ignored the financial, commercial and technological power of the U.S. and its network of banks, markets, and credits. It also ignored the links between the U.S. and military, police and business oligarchies within the region.

During the '70s hope for alternative paths to development disintegrated under the onslaught of American and its allied military and financial social forces on the various Latin American countries. The democratic socialist government of Allende was overthrown, as was Velasco in Peru. They were replaced by staunch believers in foreign capital and private enterprise. The multi-hued diversity of the various nation-states has been replaced by a uniform, or rather uniformed, type of regime. The national economies of these countries have been transformed "from above" by the military with aid from the U.S.

New totalitarian state.

The emphasis during the '60s on popular participation in the social economy—either through nationalization or industrial communities—has been suppressed. In its place, a deliberate and systematic effort has been made to demobilize the masses. The parties, trade unions and social organizations that once provided a modicum of solidarity and participation have all been dissolved.

At the same time, the new regimes have sought to mobilize foreign banking, mining and industrial capital to invest in their countries. Regimes that are "closed" to participation by their own citizens are quite "open" and accessible to foreign and domestic elites who work hand in hand with the international banks.

The new regimes have everywhere produced the same principle actors within the Latin American political economies. Modern bankers, multi-national directors and the local corporate rich increasingly dominate national planning, credit terms,



Above: Chile today.

Left: Brigadier General Hugo Banzer, on the left, seized power in Bolivia in an August 1971 coup that overthrew the populist General Juan Jose Torres. Banzer has resisted any pressure for elections.

natural resources, factories, finances and the distribution of income.

The growing disparity between the standard of living of the labor force and that of the propertied classes illustrates the profound effect that the capitalist transformation of the economy has had on the workers. A large surplus labor force has been created. Its presence enables industry to keep down the wages of the active laborers.

The takeover of the economy by modern enterprises has been accompanied by the expansion and modernization of the police and military apparatuses. The new totalitarian state is based on information retrieval systems, electronic surveillance techniques and rationalized organizational structures imported from the U.S.

The intermediary and traditional classes have been eliminated as political actors and a modern corporate capitalist ruling class put in its place. Democratic capitalism in Latin America is dead.

An industrial palace.

Business Week recently featured an article entitled "Latin America Opens the Door to Foreign Investment Again." On the cover was a picture of Latin America with doors opening to foreign capital in varying degrees. The doors to Chile, Argentina and Brazil were wide open. The doors to Peru, Columbia and Venezuela were half open. But in all, the U.S. had its foot in the door.

The article illustrates U.S. contentment with the present state of affairs. The article notes that "there is good news coming out of Latin America for the hundreds of U.S. and other foreign companies with a stake in this vast region. Major countries are opening their doors wider to private enterprise. Multi-national executives consider the region to be one of the world's major investment opportunities."

Andre Van Dam, head of a U.S. consortium says, "It's all there—protein, minerals, forests, water." *Business Week* adds, "It's a fast-expanding population of three hundred million in a combined gross national product of \$220-billion."

lion."

The article does not, however, identify the political character of the regimes who are opening their doors. No one elected Geisel in Brazil, Videla in Argentina, Pinochet in Chile, Banzer in Bolivia or Stroessner in Paraguay. These self-appointed rulers represent a small minority of the population. To the extent that they develop an economic program dependent on foreign capital they must grant generous concessions, tax opportunities, land and resource handouts.

This national giveaway prevents them from entering into electoral politics because they would lose. They could not win the support of the electorate after they have reduced the income level of the Chilean workers by 60 percent. Argentine workers by 40 percent, or by promoting a 12-year depression of salaries in Brazil.

I had an interview in 1971 with the president of the industrial association Union Industrial Argentina that illustrated

the orientation of industrialists throughout Latin America. We were discussing the problem of industrial expansion and the role of the private sector when I asked him what he thought of Brazil. With a smile on his face he described it as an "industrial palace."

I asked why this wasn't the case in Argentina. He replied, "Well, we have trade unions and the workers' movement over here. It's impossible to go the Brazilian route now in Argentina without passing over a civil war, and we don't know if we'd win."

Today if we read the decrees issued by the Videla dictatorship threatening all strikers with 10 years in prison for strike or union activities, it becomes clear that the time has arrived for the Argentine industrialists to operate a la Brazil.

James Petras is a professor of sociology at the State University of New York in Binghamton and is author of numerous books and articles on Latin America.

Mrs. Carter supports rights in her Latin American visit

In her recent official visit to Latin America, Rosalynn Carter continued the administration's effort to cast itself as the defender of human rights.

On her itinerary, Rosalynn Carter conspicuously included all the constitutional governments except for Mexico (which she had visited earlier). She showed surprising warmth toward Michael Manley's leftwing Jamaican government. In Ecuador she publicly encouraged its electoral plans and granted an interview to Galo Plaza Lasso, the president of the supreme electoral tribunal.

Recent moves in Washington are also in this line. Last month high American officials received Chilean Christian Democratic leader Eduardo Frei and Unidad Popular secretary Clodomiro Almeyda. And at last week's Organization of Ameri-

can States meeting in Granada, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance once again expressed American concern about human rights violations.

But it remains unclear whether the Carter human rights campaign is directed primarily at the American electorate or at the Latin American dictatorships. In Congress, Carter officials have argued for "flexible policy options" on aid to these countries.

In addition, the American-backed loans from the International Monetary Fund, which countries such as Jamaica need to prevent economic collapse, require government agreement to undertake severe austerity measures. These austerity measures make popular rule difficult and encourage the trend toward dictatorship.

—John Judis

LATIN AMERICA

Hitler is alive and well in Uruguay

Uruguay is that famous "Switzerland of the Americas" tucked between the giants Argentina and Brazil. Its lack of poverty and illiteracy, high level of citizen participation, smallness and apparent vulnerability earned it the name. That was in the old days of democratic chaos before the generals, American-equipped and trained, undertook to restore order.

It's quite orderly now. Every wall has electronic ears, every confidence may be betrayed, and some 7,000 dissidents are behind bars. The tribe of Uruguayans of all ages numbers some four million, and economic and political events have scattered it wide and far. Since 1968, when a million odd already lived outside Uruguay, another half million have taken off. In the view of these fugitives, as many more would leave if they could afford it, and if the government would permit it. The fare to the nearest place where you can open your mouth—Venezuela, Costa Rica or Mexico—is \$300 to \$400 per adult and half that for each child.

In little Uruguay most families have a member, or at least a neighbor, in jail. Formerly about all the prisoners get, but the new idea is to charge for it. Maintenance of the jails is a heavy burden on the government, consider the salaries of the informer network and the maestros of torture, of the doctors standing by to ensure they stop just short of death. The regular hotel business, where residence is voluntary, faces bankruptcy because the new order doesn't attract tourists. But the new charge system makes jails one of the few flourishing businesses in Uruguay.

For such a tiny and brain-drained country, this new idea in order—restoring technology is one of which Uruguay's generals can be proud. Brazil, Argentina and Chile have their own up-to-date torture chambers, but none of them thought of this added twist. Hitler thought of the value of dead prisoners' hair and teeth but not of this dividend from the living.

(To be fair to Chile, it too has its original inspiration: dogs trained to rape female prisoners, preferably in their husbands' presence. Uruguay's dogs merely lie beside prisoners suspended just above the ground, ready to fasten fangs in flesh if a foot should reach down to ease the agony of a dislocating shoulder. For the rest, torture chambers—their location in a barracks always identifiable by the top-decibel radio music, played throughout business hours to drown the screams—are standardized throughout Latin America's Southern Cone.)

Rising costs of torture.

Charging for torture has the added virtue of occupying the spare time of prisoners' relatives and neighbors, raising a few hundred pesos here, a few there. Their problem starts from the fact that, when anyone is arrested, his or her home is stripped bare: clothing and kitchenware to the last sock and broken cup, installment-plan appliances which some officer will enjoy while the family completes the payments. If the family owns anything else—a bank account, an old car—it is sequestered to pay the jail bill. But the bill goes on mounting, since few of the guests stay less than a year, many for several years.

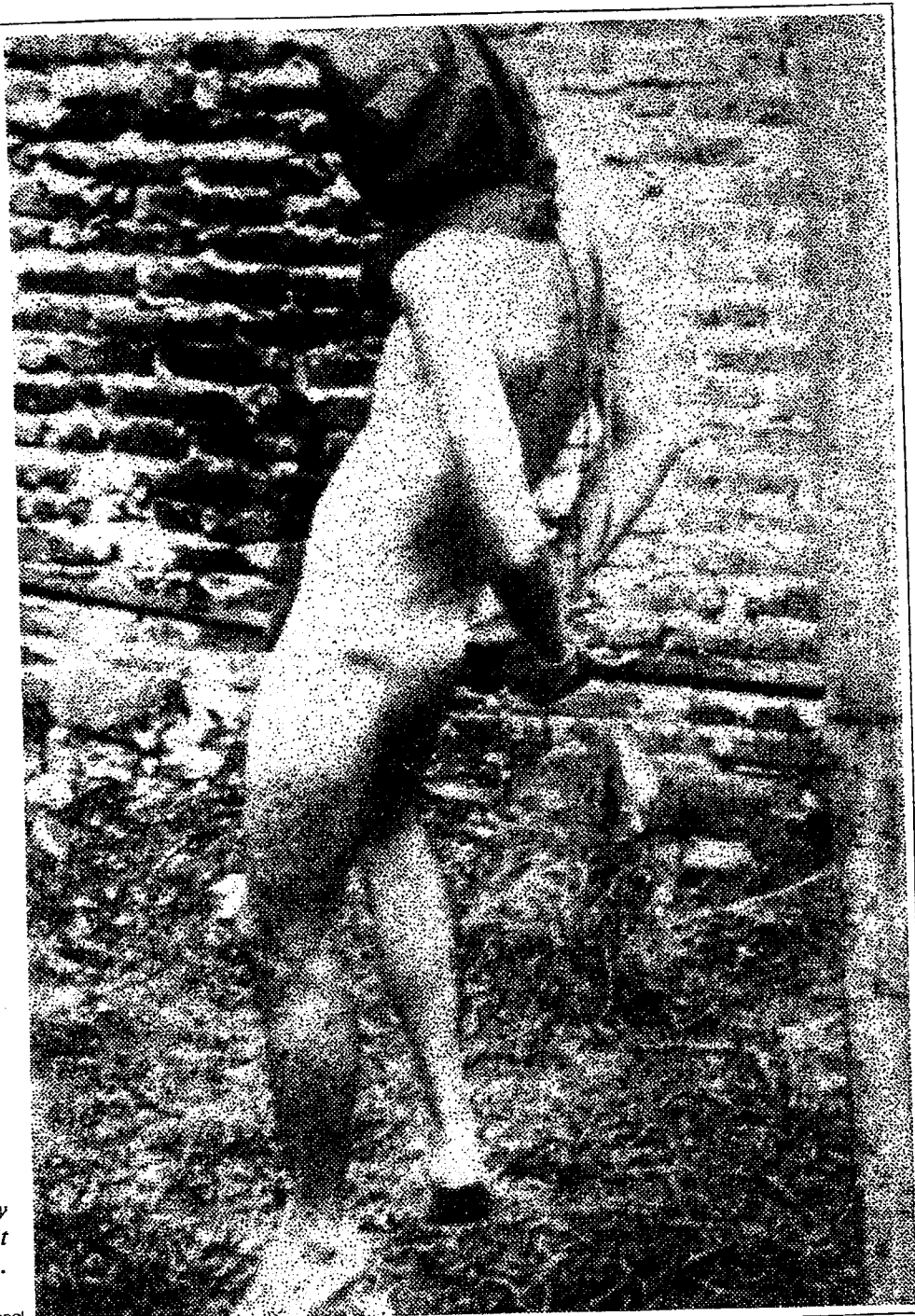
Passing the hat around the block is the only solution. This cuts to a minimum the families' and neighbors' time for turning their dangerous thoughts into action—especially in Montevideo's city blocks where half a dozen or more families have sons, daughters, fathers or mothers running up jail bills.

\$50 a month is no small amount to collect in Uruguayan pesos. Originally the charge was \$30 for the whole stay, however long, but it had to go up like all else in these inflationary times. There is an additional monthly charge of \$20 for toilet paper, soap, and "luxuries" that

Brazil, Argentina and Chile have their own up-to-date torture chambers, but Uruguay has added a new, gruesome twist.

The caballefe (sawhorse) is commonly used in Uruguay. The victim has to sit naked astride it for hours.

Amnesty International



you don't get if you don't pay. These are U.S. dollar amounts so that the bill rises as the peso sinks. At this writing the peso is worth 1/4,600th of a dollar and the monthly jail bill without "luxuries" runs at 270,000 pesos. Workers' wages are 450,000 (skilled) and 270,000 (unskilled) pesos a month, minus deductions (not for trade unions dues—there aren't any unions).

With his mass of paper, and with stomach rumbling from his lunch of a few beans, the worker walks home, often several miles. In a country where everyone once ate meat and everything costs more than in the U.S., the 1,000-peso (20¢) bus fare is out of sight. When he gets home, the kids have little or nothing to eat, but the neighbor is there with the hat for someone's torture bill.

As in any hotel, Uruguayan dissidents who have served their jail terms (e.g., for possessing a Marxist book or radical song recording) can't leave until the bill is paid. And as in a hotel, there are "extras": not only the toilet paper but all the trial costs involving a mountain of documents. We are in the age of Human Rights, and those of jail workers must be respected. Everyone knows the cost in time and money of the medical expertise to detect approaching death in a man hanging by one leg, or a nursing mother receiving electric shocks on her nipples. Nor does one become a general or an expert torturer in a day or for free, however generous Uncle Sam may have been with Panama training scholarships.

In the case of some prisoners, months of torture fail to elicit grounds for any charges, and they have nothing left to sequester. To these, generosity is shown that medieval Jew-burners might have seen as dangerous weakness. The bill is presented on departure, on the understanding that failure to pay up soon will necessitate return for further treatment. For such lucky fellows it's their turn, in liberty restored, to pass the hat.

"It's frightful."

Should they escape into Argentina or Brazil, the cooperative police of those countries will suddenly appear as they walk the street or sit at home, throw a hood over their head and deliver them back trussed. It's a matter of protocol among brother military dictatorships that each tortures its own. Or else their decomposed, mutilated body may turn up on some lake or ocean shore, "executed" by "Unofficial" death squads.

Police guard the entrances of friendly Montevideo embassies where one might seek political asylum. Yet some non-payers of jail bills manage to get past, even with families in tow, and survive to fight again tomorrow. A while back the Mexican ambassador, the humane representative of a government with doors still open, had 150 guests for three months in his small house. Men, women, children and babies sleep on the floor, packed together in round-the-clock eight-hour shifts, through the months of waiting for the generals' safe-conduct to leave. The ambassador personally escorts them to the airport to ensure they board a plane, and fits them out with clothing; no one could enter an embassy carrying a suitcase. Insolvent Mexico pays the fares, and initial hotel bills on arrival, of those who can escape with their lives but with nothing else.

The young, almost skeletally thin Uruguayan who supplied this information had thus escaped last month with his wife and two little boys. His wife stops him from giving details of his \$1,000-odd (unpaid) jail year, because "when he does, he has appalling nightmares from which I can't wake him; it's as if his conscious mind were dead."

"It's frightful, frightful," is all he says; "and I didn't get the worst. The very worst is for Jews." Then he turns and laughs with pleasure at his kids, who are chasing some new small *companeros* around the rose-patch in our garden.

Fascism alive and well.

There's always some hope for the human race, though in orderly Uruguay you must look rather far for it. Examples: a jail guard ordered to rape a 17-year-old prisoner said to her: "Make noises like I was doing it, but I won't do it. I've a daughter your age." Two men who requested "normal" treatment for fellow inmates getting extra torture were hung up before the whole jail population; during the night a guard threw them some bread; he was likewise strung up, and his later fate is unknown.

These incidents are exceptional since the army recruits as jail guards the most illiterate peasants who, however, are well supplied with sadistic pornography. Illiterates are a standard product of modern Uruguay where order is more important than education, where education indeed is the seed of disorder. As for the officers supervising the torture, liquor and drugs are on tap according to their taste and capacity.

The last funeral of a dissident that people could attend was that of young, robust Alvaro Balbi, a victim of "asthma" (according to the authorities) after four days in jail. The sealed coffin delivered to his widow was opened before doctor friends: the body was covered with wounds and bruises, several fingers were missing, and his head had been bashed to a jelly. With thousands of neighbors silently following, friends carried the body on their shoulders to the Jewish cemetery 4½ hours away. This was in 1974 when torture technology had yet to reach its present sophistication, and the danger of funerals to public order was insufficiently appreciated.

At least we know one thing. The notion that our team defeated fascism in 1945 is a sad illusion.

Cedric Belfrage lives in Cuernavaca, Mexico. He was a co-founder of the National Guardian and was its correspondent in Cuba.

U.S./VIETNAM

'Only one side responding concretely'

In the beginning of June a delegation of Americans who had been active in promoting friendship between the U.S. and Vietnam went to Paris to meet with the Americans and Vietnamese delegations to the normalization talks. They met personally with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke and the Deputy Foreign Minister Phan Hien. Upon returning, Cora Weiss, the National Coordinator of the Friendship Coalition, provided IN THESE TIMES with this assessment of the talks.

A delegation from the Friendship Coalition, Wallace Collett of American Friends Service Committee, Doug Hostetter of the United Methodist Church Office at the UN, Cora Weiss, national coordinator of Friendship and Candace Falk of Indochina Resource Center, went to Paris to have talks with the American and Vietnamese delegations. We were in Paris June 1-3 preceding and during the talks.

We went for a better understanding of the requirements for normalization of relations to see how we as citizens could help achieve our common goal. We were part of a tradition within the peace movement since 1968 of sending delegations to meet with both the American and Vietnamese negotiators in Paris. Frequently, such citizen inquiries led to breakthroughs, such as information on POWs.

We returned convinced that both the Carter administration and the Hanoi government are interested in achieving normalization of relations. When and how this will be accomplished, however, remains a problem.

What impressed me the most was the extraordinary good will of the Vietnamese who were the victims of the \$150 billion war, their willingness to put the war behind them and their readiness to talk so soon after the war has ended.

The Vietnamese feel that the problems of the war must be addressed and resolved before the next stage of development can proceed. Resolving those problems of the past provides a firm basis for the future.

What are the problems?

1) The major interest on the American side appears to be an accounting of the missing-in-action.

2) The major concern on the Vietnamese side is healing the wounds of war. They want some recognition of the American promise to aid in the reconstruction of Vietnam.

The American government appears satisfied with progress being made in the accounting of the missing-in-action. Twenty more names have been added in these talks, in addition to the bodies returned to the Woodcock Commission.

Because the National Liberation Front often marked the graves of American airmen with Vietnamese names to protect them from angry defamation, it is some-



Cora Weiss and Phan Hien.

times necessary to dig up as many as 300 Vietnamese graves to find one American. For a people who believe in the sanctity of the burial site, the MIA search has tested both their religious and political beliefs.

Now what can we say about the concrete evidence about American's carrying out it's good will?

The U.S. claims that in agreeing not to veto Vietnam's UN membership it has made a major concession. In fact, Vietnam fulfills every requirement for membership to the UN under its charter.

What else has the U.S. done?

• It takes credit for lifting the State Department's ban on travel to Vietnam by American citizens. But in fact such travel depends on Hanoi, not the U.S., granting permission through visas. Vietnamese citizens, on the other hand, can still not travel freely in the U.S.

• The U.S. alleges that it has lifted the ban on travel for the Vietnamese observer mission in the UN, yet they remain restricted to movement within 25 miles of New York City. The U.S. has simply restored permission to include Brooklyn within that boundary (now that Brooklyn navy yard is inoperative).

• The U.S. claims that it has not blocked Vietnam's admission to any of the UN agencies to which it has wanted to apply. But in fact the U.S. has taken a position of abstention and not a positive position voting on admission or on financial grants of aid.

• The U.S. alleges it is prepared to lift the embargo on trade, which has been in effect for more than two years, but only after the establishment of diplomatic relations.

So what we see is only one side responding concretely to the demands of the other. The U.S. seems to want to demonstrate its good will with concessions that have nothing to do with Vietnam's central demand.

The U.S. has adamantly refused to take responsibility for the destruction it brought in the ten years of war.

Vietnam is not begging for alms, it is not asking for "reparations." The Vietnamese never use that word, which implies

guilt. Only Vance uses it. They are not asking for the specific sum of \$4.5 billion promised by President Richard Nixon to Vietnam, but for a commitment in principle to aid.

The Carter administration has offered no leadership to Congress on this issue, but instead has allowed both the House and Senate, in amendments to the foreign aid bill, to discourage aid to Vietnam. The Carter administration could have prevented passage of the Dole amendment in the Senate this week by mobilizing the Democratic Caucus, but it failed to do so.

It then uses these amendments as justification for not meeting the Vietnamese demands.

We see no reason why the U.S. must wait the 17 and 22 years it took with Cuba and China to restore normal relations with Vietnam. We urge the President and the Secretary of State to show the concern for the Vietnamese interest that they have already demonstrated for our own.

While the Vietnamese appear to be ready to go as slowly or as rapidly as the U.S. will go, there seems nothing to gain by delaying the process.

As an American citizen of conscience, it would be unconscionable for me to continue to ask the Vietnamese to dig up the remains of U.S. airmen without seeing anything concrete from the U.S.

As one of the millions of Americans who opposed the war, I urge my fellow citizens to help me make the American government carry out its moral responsibility to the peoples of Vietnam.

Americans with the Vietnamese negotiators.



WORLD IN BRIEF

India: Janata wins big

The center-right Janata party, which upset Indira Gandhi's Congress party in last March's elections, was well ahead in last week's state assembly elections. Janata led in eight of ten states with a regional party leading in one and the Communist party (Marxist) in another.

Janata based its campaign again on the issue of Gandhi's authoritarian rule. "In the present elections...the people have to choose between those who were on the side of the thoughtless oppression of the people and those who stood against tyrants and oppressors," Prime Minister

Morarji R. Desai, the Janata party head, said before the election.

Janata had called for the elections in June in order to elect one of its own members to the largely ceremonial post of president. The president is to be chosen before August by the electoral college, whose membership is drawn from the state assemblies and parliament.

Congress' poor showing in the elections—it got less than ten percent of the vote—may threaten its existence. On the other hand, the elections were an important victory for the Communist party (Marxist). The CP-M, which split from the Soviet-oriented Communist party in the early '60s, had dominated West Bengal's politics until 1972, when it was routed by the Congress party.

In this election, it was opposed both by Congress and by Janata, with whom it broke after the March elections. With a third of the votes counted, it had a four-to-one lead over Janata with Congress still farther behind.

Belgrade: East-West talks

In Belgrade, Yugoslavia, last week preparatory talks began among 35 nations for next fall's review of the Helsinki declaration on European security and cooperation. The main issue at the talks will be the

importance accorded to human rights in next fall's agenda.

At the 1975 Helsinki talks, the U.S. took a back seat on this issue to its European allies; in Belgrade, the roles are reversed. The Soviet Union, for its part, is calling for the conference to concentrate on future goals and not on reviewing past adherence to the Helsinki pact.

If the U.S. presses the human rights issue, the Soviets have threatened to cite the American prosecution of the Wilmington 10, American refusal to grant visas to Soviet trade union officials, and American failures to ensure the "human rights" of employment, health, and housing for all its citizens.

—John Judis

Inside the Black Congressional Caucus

Through diligent committee work and bloc voting the Black Caucus has become a significant force.



Representatives Charles Diggs Jr., Ronald Dellums, and Shirley Chisholm call for "an unequivocal commitment" to equal rights.

UPI

MOST BLACK MEMBERS of Congress remain wary of Jimmy Carter—pleased that the doors of his administration seem open to them, but increasingly doubtful that the new access will turn into real legislative influence.

This is a crucial year for the 16-member Congressional Black Caucus. Freed from the posture of chronic opposition it felt compelled to assume in the Nixon/Ford years, the group is ready for full participation in a new administration's policymaking. But it is unsure how far a fiscally conservative Democratic President will permit that participation.

All caucus members are aware of one lever they can use to influence Carter—the black vote. The President did not win a majority of the white electorate in 1976; blacks gave him his victory. By 1980 Carter might be so popular that black votes will not matter. But he might end up needing them just as much as he did in 1976. It is a quiet factor in the relations between the caucus and the White House.

By Alan Ehrenhalt
Congressional Quarterly

Continued next page.

Rep. John Conyers addresses Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee Convention, 1977.



Continued from previous page

"When we have a confrontation with Carter, it will have more impact, because there's no question that we are a part of this President's constituency," said Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), a former caucus chairman and still one of the group's most influential members. A growing question for blacks in Con-

Economics has replaced civil rights as the primary issue for the caucus. In the '60s the issue was whether blacks could ride in the front of the bus. In the '70s it's whether the bus will come to their communities.

gress, however, is how much Carter will give them without some form of pressure.

Carter personally committed himself to the Hawkins/Humphrey full employment bill (HR-50, S-50) in primary campaigning in 1976. But he was lukewarm even then, and since he took office there has not been a word in support of it. Hawkins/Humphrey would require the federal government to reduce unemployment to 3 percent through a coordinated set of economic policies, including new public service jobs.

The idea is not without friends in the administration, and many in the caucus are grateful for that. Labor Secretary F. Ray Marshall has been particularly helpful.

But blacks say the administration's willingness to discuss full employment has not extended to the President himself. The caucus asked Carter March 7 for a meeting on Hawkins/Humphrey. Two weeks later it received a written reply—the President did not have time. "You and I know he meets with people he wants to meet with," said Barbara Williams, caucus staff director. "That's an insult to black Americans."

Rep. Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), the caucus chairman, is not quite so blunt. But he agrees. "The President's position on Hawkins/Humphrey has been a bitter disappointment to me," he said.

Like other caucus members, Mitchell always says Hawkins' name first in discussing the bill. Blacks feel Hawkins does most of the work—and should get credit.

The most cynical explanation of Carter's silence on full employment is that

he never did consider it. His original acceptance of Hawkins/Humphrey came in April 1976, at a particularly strained moment in the campaign when he was under attack for the racial implications of his "ethnic purity" remark.

No blacks close to Carter.

But others say the failure of the caucus to interest Carter in full employment reflects the absence of any black person in a position close to him. Former Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga., 1973-77), who might have played that role, is ambassador to the United Nations and is embroiled in foreign policy.

"They want to be the brokers for blacks," one close observer said of the caucus. "And they aren't. There really are no blacks apart from Andy Young that are close to Carter. Those who come closest are linked to the Atlanta network. Young didn't leave the caucus with any inherent access to Carter.... The one thing blacks were in a position to extract from Carter as a campaign promise was Hawkins/Humphrey—and they couldn't do it."

But an aide to one caucus member argued that the caucus really did extract a promise on full employment—or at least thought it had. He said only after Young's departure did it become clear Carter felt no such commitment.

Rangel believes that the whole issue of personal access is overrated. He says face-to-face contacts do not guarantee acceptance of anything. "Access to the President has never been one of my priorities," Rangel said, "no matter who the

President is.... I don't know that friendship with the President would help Andy Young."

If it becomes necessary to complain, Rangel believes a public forum may be just as good as a private one. "We can cuss the President out over here as easily as we can cuss him out in person," he added.

Suspicion of a lack of interest.

Full employment dominates the black caucus agenda for 1977, but it is far from the only item on it. When it comes to the second-level caucus priorities, Carter is doing better.

Universal voter registration is the group's fourth-ranking goal for the year, and Carter already has done precisely what the group recommended. He has proposed that citizens be allowed to vote on election day without prior registration. Number five on the caucus list concerns support for majority rule in black Africa and a ban on the importation of chrome from white Rhodesia. Most blacks in Congress feel Carter has moved quickly. The Rhodesian chrome ban is already law.

The caucus has not criticized the President's energy proposals. Rangel, chief caucus spokesman on this issue, called the President's emphasis on conservation prudent, although he said the poor and the black had to be protected from escalating energy costs.

But beyond the apparent good feeling on most of these issues lies a suspicion among caucus members that the White House has lost interest in the broader caucus priorities—welfare reform, tax revision and national health insurance.

Economics has replaced civil rights.

The frustrations over Hawkins/Humphrey and other issues reflect the changing nature of black legislative goals. Economics has replaced civil rights. Although equal opportunity remains an important issue for caucus members, the vast majority of items on the group's agenda deal with the distribution of wealth.

"We got the legislation on the books," said Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio), a former caucus chairman. "The issue now is empowering the black community."

Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Urban Studies, puts it another way: "In the 1960s the issue was whether you could ride in the front of a bus. In the 1970s the issue is whether the bus will come to your community."

From a strictly legislative point of view, there are some advantages to this. Taxes, welfare and unemployment affect more white people than black people. In theory, anyone in the nation might join a coalition to improve economic conditions.

But in practice, black members of Congress say, coalitions are often harder to build. The overriding issue of discrimination—so powerful in building white support for civil rights, voting rights and open housing bills—is muted on economic issues. White members examine black demands for full employment the way most of them do white demands for full employment—skeptically.

Shift to an "inside" strategy.

The tactics of the black caucus have changed along with the issues. Formally founded in 1971, after President Nixon refused to meet with black members of Congress, the caucus tried initially to function as a national leadership group for the black community.

Since 1973, the caucus has shifted to an almost entirely legislative orientation. This is in part because members found the "outside strategy" ineffective. But it also reflects the growing seniority of black members themselves.

All 16 blacks in the House are caucus members, including Walter E. Fauntroy of the District of Columbia, who is a delegate and has no vote. All 16 are Democrats. Sen. Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts, the only Republican among blacks in Congress, does not belong to the caucus.

The caucus was started at a time when the number of blacks in the House was growing at each election and the average member had little seniority or influence

in normal House channels. In 1971 only four of 12 blacks had served two full terms. Now all but one of the caucus members—Harold E. Ford of Tennessee—have served at least that long.

The junior status of caucus members led to the original decision to focus on the media and the outside world, rather than the House power structure.

"We started out trying to be all things to all people," recalled Stokes, who was instrumental in the decision to change styles. "We were trying to fill a void nationally. And in doing so, we were trying to respond to every crisis involving blacks nationally."

An official black caucus delegation went to Chicago to testify at a hearing into the deaths of two Black Panthers in a police raid. Another group went to Mississippi after two black college students were shot at Jackson State College. The caucus held national hearings on black health problems and on racism in the media, both outside Washington.

Gary convention changed direction.

But the event in this period that caucus members recall most vividly, and the one that changed the group permanently, was the Black Political Convention at Gary, Ind., in March 1972. Rep. Charles Diggs Jr. of Michigan, then chairman of the caucus, issued the call for the convention. He helped preside over it. But the meeting moved beyond what the caucus wanted.

Militant delegates approved a resolution critical of Israel and supportive of Arab guerrillas. The caucus had to issue a statement disavowing this and other actions taken at the convention. The caucus depended for financial and moral support on a number of white liberal organizations, nearly all of them pro-Israel.

The post-Gary period coincided with Stokes' chairmanship of the caucus. He says his main goal was to turn the group inward, away from hearings and meetings and toward legislation. "We knew we had to leave civil rights leadership to other organizations and other individuals," he said. "We are legislators. ... We ought to be fulfilling that role. We realized we had to break into the power structure."

Marguerite Barnett of Howard Univ., describes the years from 1973 to 1975 as a transition period for the caucus—one in which the group had a relatively low profile on the outside.

In the past two years, she believes, the caucus has begun moving "outside" again, but primarily in support of its legislative work. She cites efforts by Mitchell to build a national network of black experts on domestic policy and Fauntroy's moves toward a national lobbying campaign for caucus-favored legislation.

But it is clear that the tactics of the early years will not return. "The time for standing up and waving the Black flag has passed," Fauntroy says.

Committee power.

For legislative purposes, caucus members feel they need a network of good committee assignments more than they need a spokesperson appearing on the evening news. And this has been perhaps the group's most conspicuous success: it has been extremely effective at placing its members on important committees.

As the number of blacks in the House grew to 12 in 1971 and then to 15 in 1973, the caucus began to exert peer pressure on its members to go for the committees where the group needed a voice—even if the members themselves had other ideas.

"A lot of us wanted to be on Education and Labor," said Shirley Chisholm of New York, who served there herself from 1971 to 1976. "We got together among ourselves and said, 'Nothing doing.' And when an opening developed for a New Yorker on Ways and Means in 1973, Rangel was prevailed upon to take it—even though he was far more interested in staying on the Judiciary committee."

House Democratic leaders have generally given black members the assignments they wanted. In 1971 the caucus asked for a spot on Armed Services, where no

One thing nearly all caucus members agree on is the need to use all 15 votes collectively. Though they do not always think alike, they know they can deal most effectively as a group.

black had served before. The caucus recommended Ronald V. Dellums of California, an intense, sometimes hostile opponent of the Vietnam war and Pentagon spending requests.

Speaker Carl Albert (Okla.) and Armed Services chairman F. Edward Hebert (La.) said they would take any black except Dellums. The caucus refused to submit another name. Dellums was placed on the committee.

The same year, Stokes wanted a place on Appropriations. Assignments were then handled through the Ways and Means committee, and had to be approved by the Ways and Means member assigned to the applicant's region of the country. Rep. Charles A. Vanik (D-Ohio), a bitter opponent of Stokes in local Cleveland politics, refused to give his permission. Vanik was overruled.

Since then, Yvonne B. Burke (D-Cal.) has joined Stokes on Appropriations, Rangel serves on Ways and Means, and Ford was added to the committee in 1976. Chisholm became a member of the Rules committee this year, replacing Young when he left Congress for the United Nations. Mitchell is on the Budget committee.

Who's in the caucus.

All black House members belong to the Congressional Black Caucus, but not all of them are active in it. Usually 8-10 members attend the meetings, held at 8:30 on Tuesday mornings.

Ford of Tennessee and Robert N. C. Nix Jr. of Pennsylvania are regarded as the least influential members. Nix, 71, has never been regarded as an active legislator, although seniority made him chairman of the Post Office and Civil Service committee this year, bringing the caucus its second full committee chairmanship (Diggs chairs the District of Columbia committee). Ford, 32, is regarded by caucus colleagues as still inexperienced.

Barbara Jordan of Texas is not an active caucus member. Although nationally known for her oratorical skill and her performance during the House Judiciary committee's impeachment debate in 1974, Jordan tends to prefer a role independent of the caucus. Much of her congressional contact is with fellow members of the Texas delegation, including some who are relatively conservative on most issues. "She's a Texan first," one colleague concluded.

Chisholm has also traditionally played little role in caucus work, but for a different reason. Most caucus members refused to support her presidential primary campaign in 1972, and she resented it. Her interest in the caucus declined. She accepted a vice-chair position for 1977, but made it clear in an interview that she has not forgotten old slights from male caucus members.

"Black males are no different from

white male," she said. "Since when did I have to clear it with them?"

Diggs and Hawkins, ranked first and third in respective seniority among House blacks, are important to the group but are not among the most active members in it. Diggs chairs the International Relations subcommittee on Africa as well as the District of Columbia panel, and is a contact for blacks on most foreign affairs issues. Hawkins is chairman of the Education and Labor subcommittee on Employment Opportunities; the caucus generally defers to him on minimum wage and public jobs questions. But, like Diggs, he spends most of his time on his own legislative interests.

Nearly all the other 10 caucus members—Burke, Dellums, Fauntroy, Mitchell, Rangel, Stokes, William Clay (Mo.), Cardiss Collins (Ill.), John Conyers (Mich.) and Ralph Metcalfe (Ill.)—are said to participate on a reasonably regular basis.

Insiders and outsiders.

Barnett of Howard University divides these active caucus members into an "inside group" and an "outside group." The insiders, she says, concentrate mostly on legislative strategy and try to move the rest of the caucus in the same direction. The outsiders, while recognizing the failures of the original caucus style, are more likely to use the national media and national black leaders to build a case for legislative goals.

Barnett says Mitchell, Fauntroy and Dellums are the leaders of the outside group. She identifies Rangel, Stokes and Clay as the most influential members in the inside group.

Much of the visible output of the caucus comes from the staff. There are eight full-time employees, including Barbara Williams, the staff director; a legislative assistant, who is white; and a press assistant. A caucus newsletter appears every two or three months.

The caucus is financed almost entirely through the proceeds of its annual dinner, held in the fall. Last year's dinner netted about \$100,000 for a year of caucus operations. The group occupies rent-free office space in a House annex building.

Power in bloc voting.

One thing Rangel, Mitchell and nearly all the members agree on is the need for the caucus to use its 15 votes collectively. The group does not always think alike, but it can deal more effectively in the House if white members believe it will vote en bloc.

"We have convinced other members of the House that we are prepared to vote as a bloc," said Rangel, "across regional and party lines." He insists the flat trade-off is rarely necessary—just the quiet understanding that black members expect something in return for their consistent support of another member's wishes.

"We have much more respect as a group here than we do as individuals," Clay said. "People would much rather compromise with a group of 15 votes than make 15 compromises."

No caucus member claimed that unanimous black voting had changed the course of many decisions in the past few years. On the vast majority of issues, black votes are not numerous enough to decide the outcome, or else caucus members are so strongly committed to one side that their votes are not negotiable. So the caucus as a bloc is not often decisive.

The Fauntroy strategy.

Blacks have long talked of finding a way to mobilize the black constituents in white-represented districts. More than 80 percent of the blacks in the country have white representation in the House. And in more than 50 districts the black vote in 1976 was as large as the winner's margin of victory.

D.C. delegate Fauntroy has worked for years to identify black leaders in these districts, inform them of key legislative issues and use them to influence the white member's vote. He has a thick loose-leaf folder full of names of these black officials, and he used it successfully in 1973 to round up support in the House for home rule for the District of Columbia.

The "Fauntroy strategy" is an official part of caucus policy. "Fauntroy's effort is a caucus effort," Mitchell insisted. But for years after it was used successfully on a specific issue—D.C. home rule—the strategy has not become a consistent part of the group's work. It remains controversial, even within the caucus.

"It's going to divide the caucus," Barnett said, "because some of the members feel it is against the mores of Congress."

"We feel a little sensitive about it," Fauntroy conceded in discussing his strategy. "But I'm sure labor does this. So does business.... I can probably rationalize it better because I don't have a vote and I have to find other ways to help D.C. instead. It may be too much for the caucus. It's certainly not too much for me."

The limited success of the Fauntroy strategy raises the question of whether some of the more sensitive work for black legislative goals might be done outside Congress—by a political arm such as the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education.

But few blacks in Congress think an AFL-CIO style lobbying and political operation is coming in the near future. The costs alone lead some to brand it impossible.

Most caucus members consider it more likely that the group will function in the coming Congresses much as it has functioned since 1972—as a legislative research and strategy arm for a group of members who depend for most of their influence on their individual legislative skills. ■

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Political attitudes are changing

Late last month the eminent pollster Louis Harris released the results of an opinion survey that in his words "sheds some significant and sometimes startling light on current American thinking." Whether it points America's political future to the right or the left remains to be seen. But the survey is "startling" in indicating that large numbers of Americans are moving away from market values and are searching for new social values as the basis for arranging their patterns of life and work.

A 66 to 22 percent majority believe "breaking up big things and getting back to more humanized living" would be better than "developing bigger and more efficient ways of doing things."

Similar majorities believe the country would be better served were emphasis placed on "learning to appreciate human values more than material values" instead of "finding ways to create more jobs for producing more goods" (63 to 29 percent); "learning to get our pleasure out of nonmaterial experiences" instead of by "satisfying our needs for more goods and services" (76 to 17 percent); and that "finding more inner and personal rewards from the work people do" is more important than "increasing the productivity of our work force" (64 to 26 percent).

A 77 to 15 percent majority think that

The ranks of Americans still ready to believe in liberal capitalism are growing thinner.

"spending more time getting to know each other better as human beings on a person-to-person basis" is preferable to "improving and speeding up our ability to communicate with each other through better technology."

An 82 percent majority would concentrate on "improving those modes of travel we already have" and only 11 percent favor "developing ways to get to more places faster."

A smaller but impressive majority of 59 to 33 percent favors "putting more effort into avoiding ... pollution" over "finding ways to clean up the environment as the economy expands."

Finally, a huge 79 to 17 percent majority favors "teaching people how to live more with basic essentials" instead of chasing after "higher standards of living."

The precise meaning of opinion polls is always elusive. But the majorities elicited by this poll are striking in indicating a dramatic departure from tradi-

tional American beliefs in progress through business expansion, science and technology.

Harris may be well justified, therefore, in concluding that the poll shows the American people deeply skeptical about the supposed benefits of "unlimited economic growth," and at the same time placing a "higher priority on improving human and social relationships and the quality of American life than on raising the standard of living."

We may be permitted to add some of our own inferences.

To the extent that the opinion disclosed by the poll expresses that of well-to-do Americans who do not want significant change, it indicates their candid acknowledgement of a non-expansionary capitalism that can no longer make credible pretenses to delivering rising standards of living and equality of opportunity. They are satisfied with what they have and wish the unemployed, poor and oppressed would

be content to find their satisfaction in "spiritual" rewards. They are saying, in effect, that American capitalism must be accepted as a permanently inequalitarian social order incompatible with achieving democratic goals for all the people. They are implying, in short, that the days of liberal capitalism are numbered.

Their mood was already reflected in the conservative rhetoric and policies of Nixon and Agnew and Ford, and is more recently embodied in the austerity policies of President Carter and his search for a new ideology of lowered expectations, as well as in his pursuit of "style" over substance.

But the uncommonly large majorities agreeing on the formulations offered in the poll allow us to assume that they include considerable segments of the lower and middle income working class, and that they cut across lines of race, ethnicity, and gender. Their understanding of those formulations may be taken to point leftward:

- that bigger and faster can no longer be equated with better, nor quantitative growth of the corporate economy with qualitative improvement in our jobs and lives;
- that "standards of living" cannot be judged in gross monetary terms but in mutual social relations at work and in the community not subject to capitalist market imperatives;
- that if we are to "live more with basic essentials," everybody should have them, and it is better for people not to have much more;
- that market efficiency is more likely to mean human impoverishment and social deterioration than progress, freedom or a greater good;
- that the economy and technology should serve agreed upon human purposes, rather than human beings serving the purposes of a preordained economy and technology as pro-capitalist "free market" ideologues would have it. Or, free markets mean an unfree and unhappy people.

In so far as the Harris poll indicates a widespread holding of these latter views, it signifies that more and more Americans have come to agree, however inchoately, with the critique of capitalist society offered over the past decade and a half by the new left. It is a critique that is also rooted in the classical socialist tradition. It indicates the emergence of a large popular base in American politics that is "ready" for socialist political discourse in the everyday struggles at the workplace, in the communities, and the electoral arenas.

In either its conservative or leftward tending meaning, the Harris poll portends for America's immediate political future a sharpening of class conflict not only over the shape of income distribution but also over the shaping of work, society's goals, and the structure of power.

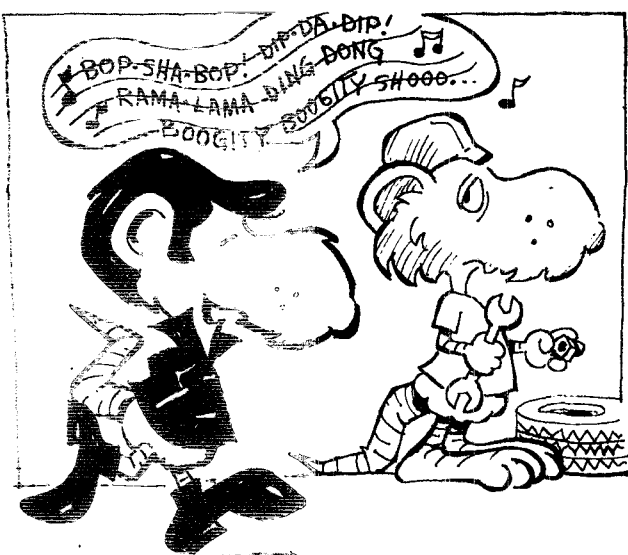
Whatever the case with the ranks of Americans "ready" for socialism, the ranks of those Americans still "ready" to believe in capitalism as the equivalent of liberal democracy are growing thinner and thinner. The "American Way of Life" appears to fewer and fewer people as corresponding with the "American Dream" except as a technocratic, materialistic nightmare.

This is a new departure in American political consciousness. If socialists don't make the most of it in serving the struggle for democracy, we can be sure that the partisans of the corporate order will, as they already are doing, but in the service of imposing upon us all an increasingly inequalitarian society and oligarchic system of economic and political power. ■

JIM YANAGISAWA



THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS



Letters

Likes our self-assurance

Editor:

Your first six months have been great, just great. I am gratified that someone is making the effort to put such a fine paper on the newsstands week after week, and excited by your self-assurance and the breadth and clarity of your articles, especially by your coverage of the economy, and your independence from the shibboleths of the "hard left."

Keep up the excellent work.

—Robert Henri
Venice, Calif.

10,000 faggots

Editor:

Your editorial policy betrays the usual inability of straight white males to see the validity of any lifestyle beyond the length of their own cocks. Reader Don Wolff complains about your lack of coverage of gay issues but commends your overall approach. I couldn't disagree more. Your coverage of gay issues is irresponsible and homophobic, and thus, your coverage of other issues is also suspect. This last point is brilliantly illustrated in the recent letter from Santa Cruz Women Against Rape (ITT, May 18).

Let's look at a sampling of your coverage—incidentally the only articles I could find for some time now. May 25 your article on feminist musicians mentions lesbians in passing. Some call it tokenism. June 1, a gay survey, as if your gay readership hadn't known about it for a month before you got around to placing the article. Also, in that issue, you review *Gay American History*—in your Arts and Entertainment section, of course. Finally, after months of silence you mention the Anita Bryant campaign and spend 88 words doing it. June 2, you diligently give a California weather report, lifted from Gay Community News (GCN), and fail to mention lesbians, unlike GCN.

In short, your coverage of gay and lesbian issues, particularly during the past few months has been so much warm vomit. May 10,000 faggots descend upon you and castrate you. Your coverage doesn't surprise me in the least. The straight white male left has never taken gays seriously. We don't need you anymore, so get up or shut up.

—Eddy Eskelson
Denver, Colo.

Are leftists really self-aggrandizing parasites?

Editor:

I was distressed by the patronizing tone Martin Sklar chose for his critique of the organized left in "The Trumpet and the Ladder" (ITT, June 8). I agree

with him that all too often these groups, particularly the various Marxist/Leninist "vanguard parties," tend to be smugly and infuriatingly myopic (in 1958 Johnny Gates replied to J. Edgar Hoover's characterization of the American Communist party as "masters of deceit" with the comment "The only deception at which [the party] proved adept was self-deception"—and I'm afraid Gates' comment retains a fairly wide applicability on the left today).

However, I don't believe that people who devote their lives to political work deserve to be lumped together with organized crime as self-aggrandizing parasites, nor do I understand how this serves to "promote the democratic exchange of views, etc." that your Gaudier column is supposedly dedicated to.

Finally, I really don't see what concrete alternatives Sklar is suggesting for the left, unless he wants us all to walk around muttering things like "Put Socialism on the Agenda". (The Socialist Labor party has followed that particular strategy for the last eight decades without noticeable success.) Every generation of American socialists in this century has broken its political neck on the problem of linking the goal of socialism with people's day-to-day concerns. If Sklar has stumbled on the magic formula that will finally allow us to do that successfully, then that's what he should write about.

—Maurice Isserman
New York City

Most advanced

Editor:

I am presently incarcerated here in Virginia, due for parole soon.

I wrote for the Black Panther party newspaper for two years in Oakland, and I must say that your newspaper is the most advanced, in terms of consistent literary quality and progressive ideological perspective, of the recently published alternative publications that I have seen. I especially enjoy your Art/Entertainment section. Keep up the good work. Yours in solidarity.

—Evans Derrell Hopkins
Capron, Va.

More on religion and torture

Editor:

"A 'religion of revolution'" (ITT, June 15) was excellent, but Harvey Levenstein's contribution contained two errors and one important omission.

He wrote: "As a whole, the Argentine church now stands in the middle, torn and effectively neutralized by its own weakness." This may have been true when Levenstein wrote his article, but on May 7 the Argentine Plenary Assembly of Bishops released a strong statement condemning the government's human rights violations and its economic policies. The lengthy document notes the Bishops' previous attempts to express their concerns to the junta and attacks its moral hypocrisy in using Christianity as a cover for terrible suppression.

About Chile, he said: "As late as September 1975, Chilean bishops were criti-

cizing the junta only mildly..." In October of 1973—a month after the coup—a group headed by a Lutheran and Catholic bishop and a Jewish Rabbi formed the Committee of Cooperation for Peace which worked to protect the lives of thousands of people held without charge. They submitted a dossier of widespread torture and other abuses to the bishops' Easter meeting. As a result a statement entitled "Reconciliation in Chile" was issued on April 24, 1974. Signed by Cardinal Silva Henriquez on Santiago, the statement prompted Gen. Gustavo Leigh to accuse the bishops of playing "the role of international Marxist agents without realizing it." In November 1975 Pinochet ordered the abolition of the Committee and many members were arrested. Cardinal Silva Henriquez then formed a new organization (Vicaria de Solidaridad) to carry on the work.

The omission is Dom Helder Camara, Archbishop of Recife, Brazil. No article dealing with the "religion of revolution" can be complete without this remarkable man. As a young priest of 22 he became a member of the fascist Integralist Action, but left five years later. When Oriana Fallaci asked him, "How did you arrive later at such different choices?" he said: "The answer is simple: when a man works in contact with suffering, he always ends up being pregnant with suffering. Many reactionaries are what they are because they don't know poverty and humiliation." From his "pregnancy" he gave birth to his theory of the three kinds of violence: the first is injustice (poverty, etc.); the second is reaction to injustice (this rebellion is the only one of the three recognized and condemned as violence by governments and "law and order" advocates); the third is oppression (fascist violence to suppress the second). He maintains that the elimination of the violence of poverty is the only way to avoid the other two. (Kim Chi Ha expresses this same idea in his way.)

Camara began speaking out in 1960. Recognized as a pioneer in religious progressiveness in Latin America, he has paid a price. Bombs, machine-gun fire, threatening phone calls at night are part of his life, especially since the 1964 coup when he began exposing and denouncing the use of torture.

—Phyllis Roa
Joliet, Ill.

Virtue and the vegetarian vanguard

Editor:

I feel compelled to defend Brent Musberger from Mark Naison's derisive comments (ITT, June 15) in his article about the NBA championship series. Brent Musberger brought to this season's television coverage an enthusiasm, erudition and expertise uncommon to the broadcasting business. He rose above the conventional yahoo announcers and their retired player side-kicks who banter on about the great games they once played with some obscure yo-yo.

The team of Musberger/Barry was superb. Their performance gave me rea-

son to think that it was perhaps fortuitous that Golden State got knocked out of the series early on. Steve Jones, Pete Maravitch and Mendy Rudolph, on the other hand, lacked luster. One felt sorry for poor Mendy who continually had the whistle blown on him by the eagle-eyed Barry.

I also object to Naison's characterization of the Blazers as "cooperative and unselfish" and the 76ers as "individualistic." He implies that the Blazers *should* have won because their team was "cooperative" (socialist) and that the 76ers lost *because* they were "individualistic" (capitalist). Philly fans can do without this kind of simplistic socialist moralism.

The Blazers won because they ran the game their way, not because they were more virtuous. I get as tired hearing about the 76ers "internal dissention" as Blazer fans probably do about the "vegetarian vanguard."

Naison was right about one thing—Dr. J. is the greatest forward in the history of basketball. And I agree with Naison that the series was a "joy to watch," even if we 76ers fans will have to wait until next year to get satisfaction.

—Robert K. Schaeffer
Johnson City, N.Y.

The Israeli left

Editor:

Mitchell Cohen's letter (ITT, June 8) makes two major points: (1) Rakakh (Israeli Communist party) isn't a legitimate part of the Israeli left. I disagree. As much as I condemn their Stalinism, Rakakh has consistently defended Arab rights and presents the "best" version of an Israeli/Arab peace settlement—similar to that presented in ITT by Simon Rosenblum.

In the recent election the Israeli Arabs gave most of their votes to the Rakakh coalition while the other left party (Sheli) got only minimal Arab votes. Unless one sees Israel simply as a Jewish state, this fact must be evaluated. Given the predominance of the peace question for the Israeli left there is really no excuse for excluding Rakakh from a more unified left.

(2) Cohen suggests that, because of the Begin victory and the extremely poor showing of the Israeli left in the election, the Israeli left must "re-evaluate the strategies of the past and search for a new path to construct a viable left opposition." This is only partly true. The lack of success of the Israeli left is almost completely explained by the poor climate in which they had to operate. There are no magic changes that will provide instant success. It is, of course, true that the Begin victory changes things. The left will have to participate in defensive activities in coalitions to reduce the chances of war by forcing Begin to moderate some of his more extreme views. But the immediate prevention of war is not the same as peace. If Mitchell Cohen has an alternative perspective, I would be quite interested in seeing him spell it out.

—Chaim Salutsky
New York City

More letters on page 17.

Joshua Dressler

Left support for gay rights has been timid and narrow

News item: A substantial majority of voters in Dade County agreed with Christian fanatic Anita Bryant that discrimination against gays should be legal (and, presumably, promoted).

News Item: A long-time Washington state teacher, about whom there were no complaints, was suddenly fired when it was learned that for many years he had been living with another man in a gay relationship. The grounds: immorality. The Washington Supreme Court upheld the firing. It said that sodomy (now legal in Washington) was immoral and illegal during most of the time the teacher was in the gay relationship.

The dissent pointed out that the teacher was not charged with sodomy, and that there was no proof that the teacher was sexually active with his lover. The dissent pointed out that gays, like heterosexuals, are often sexually inactive.

News item: Ed Davis, chief of police for Los Angeles, proclaimed that he would never knowingly hire homosexuals because they can spread homosexual germs to their "straight" partners. He also stated that homosexuals molest children. He did not state whether heterosexuals molest children.

News item: A New Jersey court upheld the constitutionality of an order by a board of education that a high school teacher, who had served without problem since 1965, submit to a psychiatric examination. His aberrational behavior: he assumed the presidency of the New Jersey Gay Activists Alliance.

These news items, selected from many, represent the frightening social and legal state of affairs presently confronting gay Americans.

Gays are in a unique position. They are members of the one minority group that has not been allowed to come in from the cold. While discrimination against blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, women and others has been covert, discrimination against gays remains *de jure*, out in the open, unabashed and even promoted.

Gays are in a unique position... They are members of the one minority group that has not been allowed to come in from the cold. Discrimination against gays remains *de jure*, out in the open.

Today we see corporate executives proudly telling of their non-discriminatory racial hiring practices. Residential racial discrimination is generally illegal. Obvious racial slurs are frowned upon in genteel society. A Secretary of Agriculture is fired for violating the rule that racism is to remain covert. Racial stereotypical myths are less often believed, and certainly less often uttered. Religious leaders espouse, if they do not practice, racial equality.

Not so with gays. Besides much covert discrimination, they are victims of overt oppression. It is perfectly acceptable to suggest that gays be separated from straights, that they should be denied jobs solely because of their sexual preferences. Myths regarding gays are uttered with frequency and impunity. Vulgar jokes about them are made on television. Religious leaders condemn homosexuality, deny them positions of leadership in the churches and say that gays may come into the church only if they, like murderers and rapists, admit and confess their sin and promise to sin no more. Psychiatrists chime in by reporting in all seriousness that homosexuality is an illness.

Although it can validly be said that covert discrimination is harder to combat than the overt variety, gays suffer from both. In 1977 gays are where "racial" minorities found themselves a few decades ago.

One reason for this is that gays have only recently organized. Another reason,

however, is that the alliance that national minorities and women forged with the progressive and socialist left is absent here. While liberals and radicals fell over one another in an effort to be on the side of (and even, unfortunately, to lead) the other movements, most seem to want no part of *this* liberation movement.

Nonetheless, virtually alone, gays have made some recent progress. They have obtained sufficient political clout in a few cities to end *de jure* legal discrimination. They have also forced television networks to excise the more demeaning portrayals of gays. And they have educated many psychiatrists to realize that homosexuality is no more a sickness than being left-handed.

Overall, however, from a legal point of view, gays remain in the cold, unprotected. There is no Civil Rights Act for them, no ERA. Occupational and residential discrimination is prevalent and legal. Gay mothers and fathers have had their children wrenched from them in favor of their divorced straight ex-mates solely on the grounds of sexual proclivities. Homosexual marriages are illegal in most states, thus denying to gays the protections that marriage and community property statutes afford to heterosexuals who wish to live together. And, of course, in most states, homosexual conduct remains criminal.

More disturbingly, there seems to be a backlash already visible from the Dade County vote. Bryant has announced that



she plans to carry her crusade to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and to California to organize a movement against the "permissive" laws in those places. Indeed, one Minnesota state senator has announced that he and other anti-gays (can you imagine a state senator in 1977 saying that he was leading an anti-black crusade?) would take advantage of Bryant's presence not only to urge repeal of the Minneapolis anti-discrimination statute but to enact a state law that would require imprisonment of convicted homosexuals.

Whether gays can combat this ignorance and fear is unclear. As noted earlier, one of their main obstacles comes not from the fundamentalist right but from the so-called progressive left. Although many of us may agree that Anita Bryant is crazy, few of us seem willing to stand side by side with the gays, thus demonstrating our own prejudices.

Consequently, much of the support from the left, when it has come at all, has been narrow. The dissenting judge in the Washington case, for example, basically supported the gay teacher by arguing, narrowly, that the Board of Education had failed to meet its burden of proof to show that the teacher did in fact commit sodomy. It failed, however, to take the broader and more meaningful position that homosexuality, whether active or inactive, is no basis for the firing of a competent teacher.

Until the left gets its collective head as straight as some of its sexual leanings, and until the left—especially socialists—demonstrate the courage it has historically shown in support of other oppressed groups, gays will be on their own. Anita Bryant and her ilk must be stopped, and the left should be a part of her demise.

Joshua Dressler is associate professor of law at Hamline University Law School in St. Paul, Minn. His column appears regularly.



"They are giving away our sky."

"The communications satellites designed, built and launched by NASA were financed by your tax dollars. What NASA learned, private industry gained... In 1973, the Nixon administration announced an 'open skies' policy... NASA's experimentation would end. Private industry would continue the research and development."

Groups like the National Women's Agenda are determined to turn this policy around. While ABC, NBC and CBS are combining as the Phoenix Satellite Corporation to launch a satellite as a joint venture—and they're only one of a dozen U.S. business satellites in operation or planned—it is clear that to hold their own the nonprofit organizations must cooperate politically to obtain a satellite while there is still space left in the sky.

You can help, and a useful first step would be to write PISA for its booklet, "Toward the Public Dividend"—and send a contribution, if you can. Satellites is where the future of communications is going to be. We'd better get our sky back now.

Dr. Donna Allen is director of the Women's Institute for Freedom of the Press and editor and publisher of the monthly *Media Report to Women*. They are located in Washington, D.C.

Donna Allen

Communications satellite to be used by national women's organizations

The U.S. is rebuilding its global communications network with two new military communications satellites to transmit secret military information (for what future war, they don't say). Another two satellites will go up in November and two more next May. Each one can convey 1,300 simultaneous conversations or data. For this service to the military establishment we pay \$68 million per pair of satellites.

During this same period (and it might be a good idea to stop right here and adjust your focus), 106 national women's organizations—whose combined membership totals over 33 million—are going to begin communication by satellite.

Madeline Lee, director of the National Women's Agenda Project, described (in its magazine *Women's Agenda*) the plan that has just received tentative approval from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for experimental use of the NASA satellite ATS-6. She wrote:

"Satellite technology makes possible such benefits as low-cost long distance communication among Agenda groups, spontaneous conference calls among widely scattered cities, long distance transmission of documents, and national access to such centralized information as a feminist wire service or data banks.

"For instance, a women's project in

Washington could run a hot-line on national legislative issues affecting women that all Agenda groups could hook into by their standard telephones."

Communication by satellite isn't cheap, even if you get the satellite time free from NASA ("free," if you don't count the tax dollars we have already paid). You still have to provide thousands of dollars worth of ground equipment, such as receivers and transmitters. The costs are immense.

But the savings are more immense. A national organization—say, the 1,835-branch AAUW—can hold its regular board meetings by teleconference via satellite and save many thousands of dollars in plane and train fares, hotel rooms and food bills—not to mention the time lost in traveling to and from the board meetings.

Agenda groups are currently being surveyed on their communication needs, phone calls to chapters and to other organizations, mailings and telegrams, conferences and meetings. Madeline Lee explains the savings this way:

"A signal is sent up to a satellite, which bounces it down to a ground station in another city. From New York to California, therefore, is, for all practical purposes, the same distance as from New York to Washington. Up is the same distance as down to a satellite 22,000 miles above the earth. All

that is needed are ground stations and connections to strategic central points."

For some time large associations of medical groups, state education departments and public broadcasting groups have been communicating by satellite. Now the "poor people's" organizations are applying to NASA for satellite time. The National Association of Neighborhood Health Centers, the National Federation of Community Broadcasters, and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now have been given tentative approval, and they, like the Agenda, are now looking for funding for the ground hardware.

What the groups really want, though, is a new satellite launched by NASA which will be solely for the use of nonprofit organizations, of which there are some six million in the U.S., according to the Public Interest Satellite Association, an organization formed "to help the nonprofit public interest, consumer, voluntary and socially active citizen sector of American society obtain the benefits of satellite telecommunications." (If you want to know more about the campaign to obtain a satellite for nonprofit, public interest groups, write PISA at 55 W. 44th St., New York, NY 10036).

A major change is being sought in U.S. satellite policy for, as Madeline Lee says,

DIALOG

Crime and punishment

I was glad to see your columns about crime (*ITT*, May 10 & 18). It's a subject that most radicals have tended to ignore, either arguing that crime was a figment of the imagination of the upper class that the rest of us shouldn't believe in, or else that criminals were proto-revolutionaries because they rebel against bourgeois society. Some comments:

1. There are many fairly obvious things to be said for restoring crime control measures to the community. But there are some things on the other side. First, in the highest crime neighborhoods, there really is no community in the sense of social cohesion. The neighborhoods are highly disorganized. It's extremely difficult to generate any kind of collective action with regard to crime—or anything else. Recently in New York an attempt was made to organize residents of a housing project into a patrol of the hallways and grounds, but it failed. The best chances of success are in neighborhoods that are already well organized or at least are organizable. Here it is often difficult to prevent the organization from taking on generalized campaigns against the poor or racial minorities. In Greenwich Village, for example, the "campaign against crime" by neighbor-

hood residents is focusing largely on black males who engage in gambling or selling marijuana in Washington Square Park (of course the publicity generated refers to "drug dealing" but the only drugs being dealt are grass). Although the parks are city property the campaign has the theme of "restore the parks to the community." This is a revealing phrase, because most of the blacks actually live in the neighborhood, in welfare hotels. The community is being defined by color and class, not by residence.

Apart from the difficulty of this kind of organizing, what effect does it have on crime? The most persuasive studies do not show a reduction in crime. (I have heard claims about some campaigns that were supposedly successful but have never seen any written reports of them). Surveys of residents frequently show that such programs increase fear of crime by making people think more about it. More generally, the economic and social processes that result in the marginalization of whole categories of people (like young black teenagers) are not located in the neighborhood, and it is not clear that the neighborhood is the best place to fight them. One could well argue that a national campaign is in order, and should focus on other things than law enforcement if the goal is to reduce crime (there is good evidence for example that the more skewed the income in a neighborhood is the more crime there will be, independent of the absolute level of average income). This could be grounds for redistributive programs.

2. The reasons police don't walk a beat

are: That it is about the least effective form of patrol; chances of an arrest being made are enormously increased the faster the police can respond to a complaint. Foot patrols cannot respond fast and are often hard for headquarters to reach. The routes a squad car follows are less predictable. Once a foot patrol has walked past, it is not going to be around again in quite a while, giving a robber carte blanche to rip someone off.

Police are highly selective in investigating crimes mainly because lack of manpower and because most thefts have low chances of apprehension. Only crimes of violence really get investigated. Here there is the possibility of describing or recognizing an assailant and the chances of arrest are much greater.

3. Current statistics show that the present prison system is not a breeding ground for crime (you will find many claims to the contrary by liberals who all cite each other but it is a hoax). Recidivism rates for people released from prison are low and have been declining steadily over the past two decades.

4. Coming back to the police, I have just completed a statistical study of the effect that probability of arrest has on the rate of seven index crimes (non-negligent homicide, forcible rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, grand larceny and auto theft) based on 100 U.S. cities over a 7-year period. Conclusion: Probability of arrest has almost no effect on the crime rate for any of the offenses. So even if you were to get "more effective" work from the police (not easily done without depriving suspect of rights), it would have little prospect of reducing crime.

5. On the "deeper level," Elliot Currie exaggerated the impact of unemployment on crime patterns. According to Harvey Brenner, who has done the most exhaustive study of the effect of unemployment on various social problems (1940-1973), an increase in the unemployment rate of 40 percent led on the average to an increase in the homicide rate of 5.7 percent. This is not a large effect. Most of the substantial change in crime rates since about 1963 have not been the consequence of more unemployment. Indeed, crime rates were rising steadily during a period in the mid to late 1960s when employment was rising and unemployment and economic inequality declining. Admissions to prison are highly correlated with unemployment but this is mainly because judges sentence people to prison much more readily (i.e., grant probation less readily) during periods of high unemployment.

—David Greenberg
New York City

Roberta Lynch replies

I appreciate David Greenberg's thoughtful and informed response to my columns on crime. Some of his points are well taken. A few general comments:

1) I agree that it is difficult to generate any kind of collective action today—around crime or other issues. However, difficult is not impossible. Despite the lack of social cohesion that Greenberg points to, most poor and working-class neighborhoods have block clubs, church groups, citizens councils, senior citizens clubs, etc. Such groups are often limited and weak, but they could form (and in some cases have formed) the basis for such organizing.

2) There is not yet sufficient evidence in to make a sound judgment about the effectiveness of such community-based action. I agree that there also need to be national programs that seek to reduce crime. But local activity helps to demystify the criminal justice system and to give people more of a sense of their own potential power.

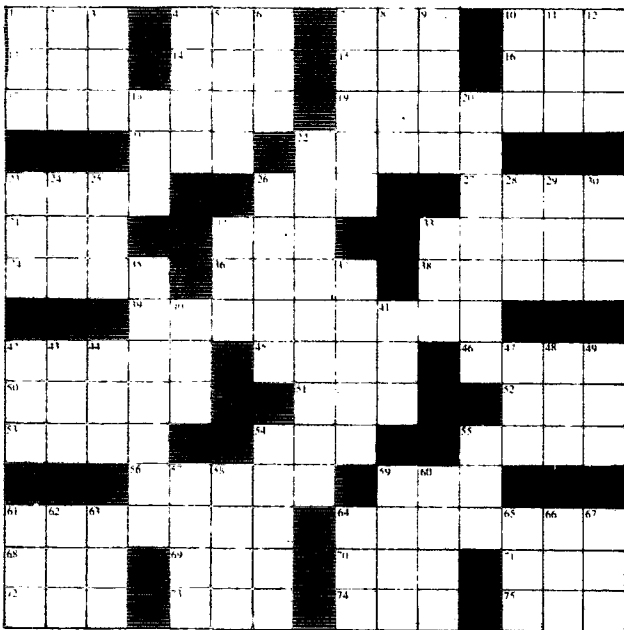
Greenberg cites the difficulty of organizing hall patrols in a New York City housing project. But in my experience in a Pittsburgh housing project, the only thing that it was possible to organize the elderly tenants around—both blacks and whites—was pressuring the Housing Authority for better building security.

Lone examples of course do not prove anything, but they do suggest that statistics cannot be the sole determinants of our approach. A statistical study of how many people have actually been mobilized actively to challenge utility companies would turn up a relatively small percentage of those who oppose company policies. Yet it has been possible to build campaigns against the companies and to bring issues of private profit and decision-making into the public arena.

3) The police: Greenberg's specific points about the limitations on police work today may be correct, but they miss the larger point I was trying to make. The problem, in my view, is not that we need more police, but that we need to change the relationship that exists between the police and the people they are supposed to "serve and protect" (as the Chicago police motto goes). This is particularly true in areas where the police act as and are viewed more as an occupying army. What is important is not so much coming up with our own proposals for reorganizing police work, but trying to set up formal structures that can institutionalize community involvement determining police conduct.

Yves St. Laurent Is a No-No

By David Mermelstein



- 12 "____" Offensive"
18 Soviet plane
20 Dead body
22 NUMBER 1 LABOR LAW VIOLATOR
23 _____ and Lifthrasir (Norse survivors)
24 Where, in Caesar's Rome
25 Opposite of oui
26 Unsited
28 Biggest monopoly
29 Once headed by Quill
30 Swine genus
32 Scuttled by Illinois, June 2
33 Malt beverage
35 Caused by soil conditions
37 Muse of love
40 Fluidity unit
41 Equal, as prefix
42 Wash. regulatory agency
43 Metric land measure
44 Torn
47 Rocky pinnacle
48 Choose (with for)
49 Existed
54 Mosquito
55 _____ the better
57 IS CONSIDERING "FAILURE TO BARGAIN IN GOOD FAITH" CHARGES AGAINST 22 DOWN
58 Plant genus, comprising the avens
59 Unless, to Brutus
60 _____ dicit
61 Hack
62 League or vine
63 Shad's are a delicacy
64 Something passed
65 Werner's chic org.
66 Links item
67 Kind of appeal

Across:

- 1 TABLE LINEN PRODUCT OF 22 DOWN (with 75 Across): A NO-NO
4 Theresa, for one
7 Their CIA bribes our representatives
10 Eliot's Rum Tug Tugger
13 Fiddler crab
14 You get this for a tit
15 Sash
16 Bound or box
17 HOSIERY PRODUCT OF 22 DOWN: A NO-NO
19 WHAT TO DO WITH PRODUCTS OF 22 DOWN
21 Wrath
22 Child
23 BYSSINOSIS, CAUSED BY COTTON DUST
26 Org. of Barentt & Raskin
27 Slum dwellers
31 Nigerian people
32 Printer's measures
33 ORGANIZERS OF 19 ACROSS
34 TOWELS PRODUCED BY 22 DOWN (with 55 Across): A NO-NO
36 Physiological network
38 Broad or wide in Latin
39 A HANGING NO-NO IF THEY BEAR NAME OF 22 DOWN
42 COMPANY 19 ACROSS WAS SUCCESSFUL AGAINST

- 45 New Deal power authority, et al.
46 Put away, nautically
50 Goat or oxen stomach
51 Headed by Ike
52 WWII agency
53 Prefix for alopod or alonia
54 Up (as a prefix)
55 See 34 Across
56 Author of *Picnic* and family
59 Naught
61 747s have often done it, especially over Kennedy
64 HOSIERY PRODUCT OF 22 DOWN: A NO-NO
68 Macao's monetary unit
69 Regret
70 Something opportunists kiss
71 Bishop's office
71 Occasionally drawn by Connors
73 Brunch drinks: Abbr.
74 Worn with a suit
75 See 1 Across

Down:

- 1 8th man for the Knicks
2 _____, on parle francais
3 *Ladies Home Journal*, for short
4 Walton or Polaris
5 Subdue
6 O'Hare abbreviation
7 Sculptor, 1885-1963
8 Ancient Greek coin
9 Small whitefish
10 Formed in 1935
1 Perform

answers to last week's puzzle:



The Crossword Puzzle is a regular feature of *In These Times*. Those wishing to contribute should write the New York bureau.

More Letters

Calumny and slander

Editor:

I have come to expect an un-Socialist vicious bias against Israel in the pages of *IN THESE TIMES*, but I thought David Mandel's article on Menachem Begin (*ITT*, June 1) reached a new low in describing him as "racist." Why this McCarthyite name-calling without a scintilla of data to back it up? Like other Israelis, Begin believes in an immigration policy based on affirmative action to make up for past oppression and present prejudice against Jews the world over—the Law of Return, which permits Jews to immigrate to Israel. But also like other Israelis he believes in the full protection of the democratic rights of all citizens of Israel, whether Druze, Christian or Moslem. He has voted to help support Arab schools and projects and to otherwise create hospitable environments for Israel's minority population. The world is loaded with racists: the leaders of Iraq, Libya, Uganda, etc., who have systematically persecuted minority groups. It is a wicked thing to publish calumny and slander.

Mandel, who I realize is editor of an Israeli magazine in a society where freedom of the press still means something,

also argues that the stalemate on peace talks "has been primarily caused by Israel's refusal...to meet with any independent Palestinian party, let alone the PLO, to consider the possibility of a Palestinian state..." To say that is the primary cause of stalemate, even though Israel has always been ready to negotiate without any pre-conditions as to the agenda for negotiation, is a travesty on truth. Israel has also indicated its willingness to have Palestinians be a part of the negotiation process through Jordan, which, after all, is a Palestinian state (a majority of Palestinians are Jordanians and a majority of Jordanians are Palestinians).

—Lawrence H. Fuchs
American Studies Department
Brandeis University

Corrections:

★ The author of "Flood relief equally disastrous," which appeared in the June 8 issue, was Deborah Baker, not Deborah Barker as it appeared.

★ In the May 25 issue, the photograph of the Berkeley Women's Music Collective should have been credited to Carol Newhouse.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

A socialist for the long term

By Judy MacLean
Staff Writer

"If I were to single out the one lesson that was important to me all my life, it was that I was lucky enough to live in the '30s when I saw the working class moving. It was the challenge of the working class that animated all of society. When you see what the potential can be, you don't ever forget it."

—Dorothy Healey

Dorothy Healey has been a lifelong socialist. She worked as an organizer for Communist-led unions during the Depression, served as a leader in the Communist party, USA, for 25 years and now is a national leader of the New American Movement.

"I suppose I became a socialist in response to the atmosphere in the country," she says. "Everyone dates the Depression from 1929. But I remember the '20s as a time of great poverty. My family was very poor. I guess my biggest memory of my mother is the time she lost a loaf of bread. It only cost a nickel in those days; I remember her sitting down on the curb and just sobbing. What was she going to do?"

Healey's mother was a founding member of the American Communist party in 1919, and Healey remembers attending a socialist Sunday school.

She also counts Upton Sinclair's *Oil and Coal*, two novels about industries and the attempts to organize them as heavy influences. "I don't have any idea whether they were good literature or not, but oh my, they sure grabbed me," she says.

At 14 she was arrested for making a speech in a May Day rally. Soon after she dropped out of school to organize farm and cannery workers. A decade of intense struggle resulted in the building of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers Union, CIO.

Their organizing was similar to that of the United Farmworkers today, she says, but the important difference is the support from outside the fields the UFW has built through boycotts.

"In rural areas you are smack against the stark terror of the ruling class without any mediating circumstances," she says. Without the outside support farmworkers have built today, the cannery organizers were constantly faced with sheriffs, highway patrol and vigilantes, all completely supported by local law.

Arrested during an Imperial Valley lettuce strike in 1934, 20-year-old Healey conducted her own defense "because all the lawyers who came into the valley



Photos by Jane Melnick

"You've got to be prepared for the boring, difficult, day to day things that have to be done, and be dedicated to the working class, with all its warts, as it is, not as you would like it to be."

were being arrested, kidnapped and whatnot."

During her plea for better sanitation for the workers, the jury foreman interrupted her to ask if he had to keep listening to "this damn Red." The district attorney said yes, but the jury deliberated only 10 minutes before convicting her of inciting a riot, unlawful assemblage and vagrancy.

Organizers' lives were a continual fight to avoid arrest. Once Healey and a fellow organizer slept in a different adobe hut each night because the police were looking for them. "They had a \$10,000 reward out for our arrests. We were the only two Anglos in the settlement of 500 people, but none of them ever turned us in."

One day Healey addressed a meeting when sheriffs and vigilantes began arriving. "We hadn't even discussed what to

do if the cops came, but the workers clearly had," she recalls. "A group of them made a semi-circle and ran like hell across the fields, and of course the cops took off, thinking they were hiding someone. Then one of the workers came and took my hand and led me to a hut, where I was to spend the night."

Healey was reluctant to leave union organizing for party organizing. "I was much better as a union organizer," she says. But she became secretary of the Southern California party in 1945, then in 1949 chairperson of the region. She also served on the national leadership until 1969.

In 1951 Healey and 13 other Communist leaders were imprisoned under the Smith Act for "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government." Their conviction was over-turned by the Supreme Court in 1957.

Long part of a dissenting minority in the U.S. party, Healey found the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the American party's subsequent support for it "the last straw." She resigned in 1973, feeling "there was no longer any way to struggle inside the party."

A year later, "though I'd been determined to stay in retirement," she joined the New American Movement. "NAM combined an organizational challenge to building a socialist movement with a willingness to develop a Marxist theory for this country," she says.

"A socialist movement here has to be related to the history and development of American culture. One of the saddest things about the Communist party was its dependence upon the Soviet Union for its world estimates, its political line. Being an echo of another country is a tragic thing. Equally tragic is the Trotskyist position, always for socialism except where it exists."

NAM's approach, of recognizing the achievements of existing socialist countries without taking them as a model, "I found very important. With that approach you can build an authentic revolutionary movement in the U.S."

Of the young new leftists she joined in NAM she says, "It was sad, but also engaging, this feeling among young people in the early '60s that they were writing on a totally unwritten page of history. The forces of reaction had accomplished that."

After a lifetime of working to build a movement for socialism Healey is not discouraged. "You can't be in for the short term," she says. "If you really combine a hatred of what this economic system does to people with a belief in the enormous potential of people for self-fulfillment through liberation, you can't just wait for the great days of excitement, big demonstrations, and stormy battles."

"You've got to be prepared for the boring, difficult, day to day things that have to be done, and be dedicated to the working class, with all its warts, as it is, not as you would like it to be."

Over a hundred years after Marx, there has still not been a socialist revolution in an advanced capitalist country. Because of the complexities faced by socialists here, she's leery of anyone who has an exact blueprint for change. "I would be hesitant to define the exact way a socialist movement will develop. The blueprints I've had didn't always reflect the reality of the U.S.," she says.

"The big unanswered questions are the relationship of the struggles of blacks, Chicanos, women, and the way in which the fight for democracy in the workplace will occur. These are the essential elements," she believes.

Still, she says there's no question that ultimately there will be a socialist America. "It's not just that capitalism can't solve the questions of the way in which people live—I'm referring to economic questions, and spiritual ones as well. But the fact that generations that have never known about Marxism start each time to acquire it all afresh themselves. The present keeps reasserting itself; that kindles my revolutionary optimism."

Healey believes staying in the socialist movement "is really no different from what workers face every day in managing to live in this system. Only in this case it's done with a determination not to be bound by the dimensions of one's own life, but to relate that life to the lives of others."

There's never been any question for her that this is how she's spend her life. "And I also watch the younger generation of socialists, and it's very impressive, their determination, not just to be revolutionaries, but decent and happy human beings."



SPORTS

Women athletes narrowing the gap

By Dr. Kenneth F. Dyer
and Barry R. Toms
Pacific News Service

In 1976 the American woman Miki Gorman ran a marathon in two hours, 39 minutes and 11 seconds—fast enough to have won the men's Olympic gold medal in 1896, 1900, 1908 or 1924.

Fifty years ago a woman became the first person ever to swim the English Channel, and today the fastest times for the channel crossing—in both directions—are still held by women.

And in shorter events female swimmers from East Germany, the U.S. and Australia regularly turn in faster times than male swimmers from many other countries.

All of which adds up to a convincing rebuttal to the old "self-evident" truth that biological reasons alone prevent women from equaling men in sports.

Women may never hit a baseball as far as Mickey Mantle or serve a tennis ball as hard as Jimmy Connors. But in other sporting events they may be biologically superior to men.

Long-distance running and swimming provide a case in point. Dr. Joan Ulyot, a doctor of sports medicine and herself a runner, says women have more body fat than men, so even after men have used up their supply of body energy (carbohydrates) women can keep going on their body fat.

This lets them run or swim farther, if not necessarily faster, than men, she says—and it may explain the female dominance of English Channel swimming.

In shorter races as well as the long-distance events women's times are progressively catching up with men's. The women's 100-meter world record was first recognized in 1934 at 11.7 seconds. For the same year the men's record was 10.3 seconds, a superiority of 13.6 percent. By 1954 the difference in the two records had declined to 11.8 percent, and in 1974 to 9.1 percent. Between 1934 and 1974

the difference between men's and women's 800-meter records also dropped steadily—from 24.6 percent to 11.4 percent.

In swimming women's performances are on the average closer to those of men than in running. And the women's rate of improvement in times has been greater than the men's.

The average difference between the 15 recognized male and female world records in 1976 stood at 9.2 percent. For the seven of these events in which both male and female records were recognized in 1956 the average difference stood at 12.2 percent.

Predicting the future is always a risky business, but all the figures available indicate that average performance in speed and endurance events for women could eventually equal that of men.

Women athletes neglected in U.S.

While women may be improving their performance compared with men, they've been sadly neglected in the U.S., according to *Womensports* magazine, which reports that American universities spend little more than two percent of their total athletic budget on women's sports.

"Money is a big part of making a program go, and men's sports have tremendous control over it," says women's coach Kathy Scott. Enthusiasm is fine, she says, but you can't really do a good job without money.

Another problem is the lack of facilities and coaches. Many women's coaches don't put all their efforts into their jobs because they feel they aren't getting any help from school administrators and others, according to one coach. "After a while, they throw up their hands and say 'What's the use?'" she says.

American women athletes also face outmoded training methods. For example, the conventional wisdom is that women cannot lift weights without developing bulging muscles. But Dr. Jack Wilmore, head of physical education at the Univer-



Jane Melnick

Women may never hit a baseball as far as Mickey Mantle, but in many other sports, they may be biologically superior to men.

sity of Arizona, says weight training will produce a great improvement in strength with negligible increase in muscle mass. In the same weight program, he argues, women will develop only one-tenth the muscle mass of a man.

Another coach adds that it's the male hormone testosterone that produces big muscles, and that women have only very small amounts of it in their bodies.

Things are better elsewhere.

While U.S. women athletes operate under these handicaps, conditions are different in other countries. And the statistics indicate sociocultural factors—like money and motivation—may be far more important than biology.

Eastern European countries encourage their female athletes more than Western countries do, and the smaller gap between men's and women's performance reflects this.

For example, the average difference between men's and women's track records in nine events was 12 percent in East Germany in 1974. In Russia it was 12.6 percent and in Hungary 13.4 percent. But the difference in France was 15.6 percent, in South Africa 16.8 percent and in Belgium 17.6 percent.

"Considering the handicaps U.S. women athletes have—lack of money,

lack of facilities, cultural biases against women's sports—I'd say U.S. women are doing well," says LeRoy Walker, track coach at the University of North Carolina.

But the biggest barrier to U.S. women's sports performance may be psychological. "Success in sports is 90 percent motivation," says Walker. And here, he says, American women are at a tremendous disadvantage because they aren't raised to be competitive.

American women who are competitive and successful are taunted about their loss of "femininity," say Dr. Thomas Boslooper and Marcia Hayes in their book *The Femininity Game*.

Worrying about their femininity, they lose the will to win and, adds one coach, "If you don't believe in yourself, you won't beat anybody."

Ultimately, women's success in sports will depend on their own heads, says Dr. Boslooper. If they can break out of their traditional role of passivity and noncompetitiveness, he says, they can begin to fulfill their potential in sports.

Kenneth F. Dyer is a professor of social biology at the University of Adelaide, Australia, where he has done extensive research in men's and women's sports performance. Barry Thomas is a Bay area freelance writer.

The Big Guns

of the Philadelphia/Portland
NBA playoffs
(CBS, May-June, 1977)

I.
seeing a little daylight, he
takes what is given to him
the magnificence of Dr. J

II.
let's see what the #4 play is, awesome
force in the middle
kept the man out
MVP you old redhead you!

III.
creeping to the basket
getting the left arm shoved
shooting at tough luck

IV.
lookin for the pick n roll
McGinnis may have found
himself

V. diamant

A no-lose proposition

The great new In These Times
Subscription contest.

We win circulation—
You win prizes.

We at In These Times count on the active support
of our readers to make it to our first year goal
of 12,000 subscribers.

There's 6 months and 5300 more to go.

Join us and join up right away.

Here's what you get:

1. The first person to sell 20 subscriptions to *In These Times* wins a high quality SONY cassette tape recorder, or a \$100 gift certificate from Recreation Equipment, Inc.
2. The person who sells the most subscriptions above 20 wins a Smith-Corona portable electric typewriter.
3. Nobody wins two top prizes.
4. The first person to sell 10 subscriptions wins a SONY portable matrix AM/FM radio or a \$50 gift certificate for camping equipment.
5. Everyone else who sells 10 subscriptions wins a \$25 gift certificate for camping equipment or a sterling silver fountain pen or an unabridged Random House dictionary.
6. Everyone who sells 5 subs wins an *In These Times* t-shirt!

Okay. Sign me up for the great new *In These Times*
circulation contest. Rush me contest materials.

Remember, only entries on official contest blanks count.

Name _____
Street _____
City/state/zip _____
Telephone # _____

- ★ The contest ends September 30, 1977.
- ★ Scores are based on our standard \$15/year sub, but you may substitute 2 \$6.50/4-months subs for 1 regular sub, or 3 \$10 student subs for 2 regular subs.
- ★ Only official contest blanks will be counted.



New Hampshire state troopers protect Seabrook's nuclear energy site.

Selling the nukes

Continued from page 3.

groups: women, young people, and "low socio-economic status people," including blacks, less educated and lower-income people.

Since he once belonged to this crowd (which seems to include most people in the U.S.), he knows that they are not "likely to be reached by the typical kinds of Washington or business pronouncements..."

"Women," writes Pokorny, "must be convinced of the basic safety of nuclear power. That they and their children are not in jeopardy as a result of this technology." That's all.

The young are more complicated. They "must also be convinced of the safety of nuclear, but in a broader way they have to understand better the whole anti-growth/pro-growth dialog... Having grown-up completely in the post-war period, there is little sensitivity to the realities of what has been behind the economic/standard of living expansion in the last 30 years..."

But luckily, Pokorny continues, "low SES groups are those which can be reached most easily. To a large extent, their problem is one of just lack of information. In a world of limited knowledge, they are particularly sensitive to scare stories and arguments by the opponents of nuclear energy... Particular attention here must be given to the energy supply/jobs/growth linkage..." Because they are so ignorant, low SES people are "the weakest link in the antinuclear coalition."

Pokorny assures the utilities that these poorly educated poor people "will support nuclear energy once they get a better understanding. They have to be told and made to understand, 'When you vote against nuclear power today, you are voting against yourself tomorrow.'..."

Part of the appeal to the "less-educated," of course, is to wheel out the house scientists. As Pokorny puts it, "Our research consistently shows that the best spokesmen for nuclear energy are *scientists* (his emphasis). Therefore they should be used in this way. The public has faith in science, believes science and would listen. The same, of course, is not true for top business leaders and government bureaucrats."

Special tactics for each group.

The public information effort on behalf of nuclear power, as Cambridge Reports calls it, requires special tactics for each special group. To quote from the memo again,

- "For women: Here use other women as spokespersons... You should use as pro-nuclear speakers women who live near facilities and can talk, from personal experience, of their safety.

- "For young: Again, for this group, it makes sense to stay with the peer group... i.e., young, ecology-minded scientists..."

- "For blacks: Special advantage here can be obtained by first getting the national black leadership (political, educational, labor, church) to become more aware of the problem... in short, we're suggesting here a strategy of working from leadership on down..."

- "For low SES groups: These groups

too can be reached in part through a leadership-on-down strategy, particularly labor leaders."

Finally Pokorny urges industry to go on the offensive. Ask the critics where they will get energy other than nuclear. Attack the credibility of the antinuclear movement.

"A good speaker," Pokorny hints, "could also make the point that the reason many critics really don't give specifics [on safety] is because they aren't scientists and don't understand the subject." (At the time Pokorny wrote this his office was three blocks from the office of the Union of Concerned Scientists, a national group of qualified scientists critical of nuclear power.)

Pokorny suggests that solar and coal should be discredited as much as possible, and that without nuclear we will have to have "cuts." Energy conservation is not mentioned once in the entire memo.

Keep the money coming, boys.

The last section is called, predictably, "A Proposal for the Future." Lest the utilities who paid for the study forget, Pokorny and Caddell are not in business for their health.

Pokorny explains: "We hope this memorandum has been helpful... particularly on the subject of nuclear acceptance efforts... however, it would be improper for us to close this memo without saying that all the thoughts contained here come from a real data base—a base of national attitudinal surveys in the last year... It follows, in our opinion, that if you want to conduct good public information/awareness efforts, similar to the one we just outlined here for a nuclear acceptance campaign, you must continue and expand the national attitudinal data base we have already collected..." Surveys of this kind are extremely expensive, priced in the tens of thousands of dollars.

Neither Caddell nor the industry will say whether more surveys were taken, but some of the advice in the Pokorny memo was heeded. Shortly after the memo was completed, the utilities were spending millions to fight nuclear safety referenda in Ohio, California, Nebraska, Washington, Missouri and Iowa.

Local utilities contributed to fight the referenda even where they were taking place in other states. Boston Edison sent \$6,000 to the California pro-nuclear campaign chest; and New England Electric sent \$9,000, the highest contribution of any non-California utility.

While the kind of research and polling that Pat Caddell and his associates did for the electric utility industry is very common in industrial circles, the particularly close relationship that reportedly exists between Caddell and Carter should give some reason to fear. At the very least, it should lead one to expect that the turn in administration policy towards support for nuclear power will not likely be reversed. We can also rest assured that Caddell and Pokorny will be there to help Carter justify a pro-nuclear policy.

Joe Conason writes for the *Real Paper* in Boston, where a longer version of this article appeared (June 11).

Seniority

Continued from page 4.

by a bona fide seniority system was a violation." Now a seniority system would appear to be bona fide unless it was negotiated with intent to discriminate.

There is little chance that the consent decree in the steel industry or other major revisions of seniority systems brought about through enforcement of Title VII will be reversed. In steel, for example, seniority provisions were rewritten to affect all workers equally and have already been made part of the contract.

Difficult for smaller companies.

However, Michael Gottesman, an attorney for the Steelworkers union and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, said that in "many smaller companies where we have less broad seniority, we will now have a more difficult road. We won't have the threat of liability under Title VII" to give more clout to negotiators.

"I think [the decision's] impact in those industries where there had not been a reform of seniority systems may be enormous. There were all kinds of industries where they were being pushed and prodded and wouldn't have done anything on their own. There's now little incentive for them to do anything. To the extent that if anybody gets relief anymore, it's going to be individual."

Gottesman and other lawyers fear that the Court decision will unleash a wave of "reverse discrimination" suits by white workers, who may claim that they were treated unfairly by giving retroactive seniority to blacks. That would be especially true where companies gave special rights specifically to minorities instead of generally revamping seniority rules.

Encouraging litigation.

Gould also fears that the Court decision encourages companies and unions who have persisted in discriminating. "Now the

Court says it pays to litigate," he says. "The Supreme Court will support you. Why negotiate? Why compromise? Those who complied voluntarily are in a bad position and are going to be faced with reverse discrimination cases coming out of the woodwork. The lesson to be derived is: fight hard on all future issues."

"Our ability to wage effective litigation and the ability of the government to root out discrimination has been undermined considerably," Gould concludes.

Civil rights advocates, however, will probably continue to file discrimination suits against seniority systems, using the 1866 Civil Rights Act rather than the 1964 Act. The government—if pressured—could also vigorously enforce existing executive orders against discrimination in most large companies through the Office of Contract Compliance.

The ghosts of Richard Nixon haunting judicial benches are clearly making the courts weaker instruments in the fight against discrimination. Without the legal threat few unions or employers are likely to work hard for more equitable seniority systems. Rank and file union pressure could, of course, bring about changes through union contract negotiations, but minorities have suffered in the past precisely because they were weak and in the minority.

With a conservative Supreme Court and a political atmosphere in the country hostile to affirmative action, many civil rights advocates are talking about the need to fashion anti-discrimination strategies through broader alliances that simultaneously advance the interests of blacks and women and protect white workers from loss of wages.

Without an imaginative and forceful new approach, much of the gains in employment made by blacks and women over the past decade may soon be swept away. The recent Supreme Court decisions are straws in that ill wind. ■

SUBSCRIBE NOW TO

RADICAL AMERICA

RADICAL AMERICA is an independent Marxist journal in its 10th year, featuring the history and current developments in the working class, the role of women and Third World people, with reports on shop-floor and community organizing, the history and politics and radicalism and feminism, and debates on current socialist theory and popular culture.

Some recent issues feature:

Barbara and John Ennenreich on the Professional—Managerial class; Barbara Kopple on *Harlan County USA*; and Temma Kaplan on the Spanish C.P. — Vol. 11, No. 2.

Ellen Cantarow on Italian women's struggle for abortion rights and Carl Boggs on the Italian C.P.'s "historic compromise" — Vol. 10, No. 6.

Staughton Lynd on the legal assault against worker's rights and Dodee Fennell's inside history of a factory and its workers — Vol. 10, No. 5.

Jeremy Brecher and Tim Costello on the current condition of wage labor in the U.S. and Roy Rosenzweig on organizing the unemployed in the 1930's — Vol. 10, No. 4.

Russell Jacoby on Stalinism and China and Anne Bobroff on the Bolsheviks and working women — Vol. 10, No. 3.

David Montgomery and Ron Schatz on facing layoffs and Ann Withorn on the death of the Coalition of Labor Union Women — Vol. 10, No. 2.

Individual issues cost \$2.

Cut out this box and mail to: *Radical America*,
P.O. Box B, North Cambridge, Mass. 02120

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

☐ \$10.00 (1 year — 6 issues)

☐ \$17.00 (1 year with pamphlets)

☐ \$7.00 if unemployed

☐ \$18.00 (2 years)

☐ Add \$1.50 for all foreign subscriptions

IT

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

WWII epic realistic but not really anti-war

ONE BRIDGE TOO FAR

Starring Liv Ullman, Dirk Bogarde, James Caan, Michael Caine, Sean Connery, Elliot Gould, Gene Hackman, Anthony Hopkins, Ryan O'Neal, Robert Redford, Maximilian Schell

A Joseph E. Levine production

One Bridge Too Far, producer Joseph E. Levine's new three-hour war epic, is a film too long. It's too noisy, has too many actors, too many simultaneous actions in too many separate locations and is too engrossed in re-creating the mechanics of war to be the anti-war picture it purports to be.

The story of the film involves one of the great operations of World War II in the European Theater, Operation Market Garden. More than twice as many men were lost during those nine days in September 1944 than fell during the invasion of the Normandy beaches. Operation Market Garden was intended to bring the war to a close by the end of 1944. The six major bridges leading to the German border were to be captured by 35,000 American and British paratroopers dropped behind German lines. They were to be joined by sizable ground forces driving from Belgium to the last bridge at Arnhem. Then the combined Allied forces were to sweep across the Rhine into the German industrial Ruhr to smash the war production plants of the Third Reich.

Joseph E. Levine has mounted a gargantuan production; \$26.7 million dollars worth of sets, demolitions and super stars. There are 13 big names twinkling through the smoke of battle.



Above left: Liv Ullmann and Laurence Olivier
Right: Robert Redford

1,500 extras were on hand at all times. 104 especially drilled actors took the speaking parts of the British troops. The 1st Battalion of the British Parachute Brigade made four spectacular parachute drops with 11 cameras trained on them. The scenes are uncanny reproductions of some actual mass drops of World War II battlefield film footage. All the leading survivors of Operation Market Garden were consulted to ensure maximum accuracy.

The film is free of sentimental, phony movie heroics. (History supplied them.) Everything is as real as modern film technicians and the Defense departments of the U.S., Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark could make it—and that is visually very real.

But—and this BUT is as big as the production—the whole idea of the film is based on a false premise. Using an incident where our side, or The Plan, fails (and therefore the carnage has no re-

demption) does not constitute an antiwar position. It only says you should not tamper with the lives of so many troops and officers without better intelligence, better luck, better weather and less arrogant leaders playing battlefield politics. Although the Germans won the Battle of Arnhem (as the end of Operation Market Garden came to be known), they lost because, as the film tells us, they were near the end of their endurance, and history tells us the end did come, although not soon enough.

The realization that "in total war, everyone loses" has kept the world engaged in "limited" wars for the last 30 years. It has not kept the world at peace. Our problem at this juncture of history is not to discover how unsafe and dirty war can be. We all know that. We have watched too many TV news reports from real battlefronts with real war footage, we have talked to too many friends and relatives who served in Vietnam, not to know.



Instead of grand and glorious productions luxuriating in the "reality" of battle, what we need now is to understand more about who benefits from war. We know it is no good for ordinary people. We know a lot about the ways in which supranational companies bring their weight to bear on governments urging them to take up arms in their behalf. So, how do we stop that? What sort of action would be effective? As the little girl said: "Some day, Daddy, they're going to invite everybody to a war and no one will come." When?

One Bridge Too Far does not even begin to approach these questions. It is an exploitation film as blatant as any porno movie. And the music track gives it away. In deafening decibels the music swells with Wagnerian pomposity. Only the bombs bursting in air can drown it out. Quadreplic sound-around.

I felt sorry for the 13 stars who were paid to lend their faces to this spectacular. Liv Ullman had

scarcely more than five lines. Dirk Bogarde, James Caan, Michael Caine, Sean Connery, Elliot Gould, Gene Hackman, Anthony Hopkins, Ryan O'Neal, Robert Redford, Maximilian Schell opened in 400 theaters throughout the U.S. on the 15th of June 1977. They even had Sir Laurence Olivier playing another one of his gem bit parts. What a waste!

Waste is the key word. It is the one thought that reverberates as one leaves the theater. What could be done with \$26.7 million!

The worst of it all is that Joe Levine is not even going to lose money on this behemoth. He has already recouped his investment through preselling huge international blocks of distributor guarantees.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor working in New York and is the regular film reviewer for *In These Times*.

RECORDS

Class conscious country singer on brink of break

"...Country & Western is probably the most class conscious music we have..."

BLACKJACK CHOIR GOT NO BREAD, MILK, NO MONEY

TRYIN' LIKE THE DEVIL

By James Talley
Capitol Records

James Talley lists Woody Guthrie as one of his heroes (both are from Oklahoma) and speaks occasionally to Pete Seeger. That wouldn't be that surprising if Talley lived in New York, Chicago or California, sang at left-wing benefits and recorded on a small folk label. But James Talley lives in Nashville and also speaks occasionally to Merle Haggard.

And while he does play left-

wing benefits, he's not an urban folkie but a class-conscious, left-wing, populist Country & Western singer, with three albums out on a major label (Capitol)—enough to make him interesting even if he weren't any good.

He's also good.

Figuring out exactly what country music is these days is difficult with Los Angeles rock and rollers crossing over into country, middle of the roaders like John Denver and Olivia Newton-John winning country awards and country singers like Dolly Parton trying to cross over into pop.

Talley's music sounds closest to that of country musicians like Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings—the self-styled "Outlaws"—who favor simple, traditional instrumentation and sparse production. In live performance Talley is backed up by a fiddle, a guitar, a bass and a drum, and although he doesn't always use this combination on record, he tends not to stray too far from it.

It isn't simply Talley's sound that makes him a country singer. His songs are based on tradition-

al country conceits: good time Saturday nights, drowning sorrows in booze, that one good woman, small-town nostalgia, hard-working laments, and suspicions of city life. But populism and class-consciousness are country music conceits too—C&W is probably the most class-conscious music we have. Talley, who was a graduate student and social worker before deciding to concentrate on music, selects traditional populist themes of the genre and gives them a leftward twist. He is at his best when he establishes an identification with people's problems without diminishing them.

So far Talley's albums have not sold well, although they have received almost unanimously favorable reviews from all sections of the press. (It's possible that Capitol would have dropped him if his press hadn't been so great.) He did receive a lot of attention when Roslyn Carter said he was her favorite singer and invited him to play at the presidential inauguration.

His command performance seems, however, to have had no

clear effect on his career. The public evidently has little interest in the tastes of the current White House residents. Talley trudges on, stringing together the multi-city tours of small club dates that sound romantic in the bio of a famous performer, but look grueling up close.

When I interviewed him in New York recently, I was torn between marvelling that a left-wing singer would put himself through the rituals of publicity necessary to reach a mass audience, and feeling guilty that I was robbing him of the nap he needed more than the conversation we were having.

After I saw his New York debut last year, I went looking for his records (not easy to find) and gave them as presents to friends, some of whom aren't great country fans. Everyone thought they were great. Unfortunately my present purchases probably won't be enough to soothe Capitol Records' jitters about Talley's sales.

His problem is that he doesn't fit into any of the record industry's established marketing cate-

gories. If some bright young corporate exec can figure out how to market his music, Talley may get the break he needs. A music biz observer I talked to recently said Talley could be more popular than similar performers like John Prine or Steve Goodman.

Talley is sure trying.

Meanwhile anyone who is a combination of radical, populist, working person and country music fan and has not heard James Talley doesn't know what he/she is missing.

Buy the first two albums: *Got No Bread, No Milk, No Money* and *Tryin' Like the Devil*. The new one, *Blackjack Choir*, is less successful, but not without its moments.

Even the possibility of a radical, class-conscious, country populist reaching a mass audience shows how much things have changed since Nixon was inviting country music stars to the White House and making appearances at the Grand Ole Opry.

—Tom Smucker

Tom Smucker is a writer living in New York City.

BOOKS

What work women do and why

PINK COLLAR WORKER: (Inside the World of Women's Work)

By Louise Kapp Howe
G.P. Putnam's Sons, N.Y., 1977,
\$8.95

A bright, sensitive, young feminist scholar—who happens also to be a first-rate oral historian—decided it was time for someone to have a look “inside the world of women's work.” She knew before she started that:

- there are more women in the labor force than ever before;
- there are more married women and mothers of preschool children in the labor force than ever before;
- most women in the labor force are there because they are the primary or secondary bread-winner

- of a family;
- more women are (officially) unemployed than men;
- there is an ever widening gap between men and women's earnings.

What Louise Kapp Howe did not know was what sort of work all these women do and how they feel about it and themselves; how they feel about unions, about the women's movements, about sexism and social security and their individual and collective future. So she picked a handful of jobs that are currently “women's work”: beautician, salesperson, waitress, office-worker, and homemaker. In one case she took a job to experience and observe at first-hand. In the others she had a series of protracted, probing inter-

views with a fair sampling of workers and went to (or organized) meetings between them to hear what they had to say to each other.

Some things she discovered about working conditions, wage scales, unions, employers, and attitudes toward them startled her, and may startle others. For instance—

A beautician/receptionist in a small shop: “The pay is lousy, the security is lousy, the union is lousy—but it's nice here, isn't it? ...We've got something good between the girls, and that means a lot.”

An assistant personnel manager in a department store admitting that the management is deliberately shifting from full-time to part-time employees because it's cheaper: “You can cover yourself during the rush hours and have less people around when it's quieter. Also there can be some savings on the fringe benefits the company has to pay.... If you're full-time, you're immediately eligible for health insurance. But if you're part-time, you have to wait six months, by which time many of our part-timers are gone.”

Two waitresses discussing how unions function in a profession that is 80 percent female, but where men are hired exclusively in most high-priced high-paying establishments: “My biggest gripe about unions used to be that there were so many in the restaurant field, almost like they were little businesses themselves. If you joined one...and paid the initiation fee, you'd find you were only eligible to work in a handful of restaurants, so if



Louise Kapp Howe

Betty Shirley

you got a new job, the chances were you'd have to pay another union initiation fee and on and on like that....”

“...And also if they'd stop the sex discrimination. If they would be willing not only to take your money but to also send you to the best places....”

A homemaker on the insecurities and the satisfactions of her profession, which “can be viewed as both less alienated and more autonomous than most,” since “the homemaker and those nearest to her are the direct recipients of the services she performs, and what's more, she performs them generally under no one else's supervision or time schedule or standard of excellence.” “I don't know why it should be such a shock that many, if not most homemakers enjoy what they're doing.... [But] homemaking is a hazardous occupation.... It can all look hunky-dory until something goes wrong. All of a sudden he's laid off his job or he gets a heart attack or he tells you he wants a divorce...and then you see how dependent you've been on his good will and good fortune all these years. And then

you start to shake.”

It was at a conference of homemakers (sponsored by the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in Madison, Wisconsin) that Howe learned most, and it is in that section of her book that movement-oriented women will probably learn most—some of it sobering, all of it useful. “Sobering” and “useful” are adjectives that can be applied to all of this remarkable book. But its claim to excellence in a field already full of front-runners is the unusual blend of statistics (including instantly comprehensible graphs) and specifics. All of the generalizations are buttressed by the testimony of articulate subjects, each of whom becomes a very real individual in whose hopes and fears the reader becomes enmeshed.

Howe's conclusion, presented as the opening paragraph of the book, is that “the most fundamental issues concerning the female labor force in America have only begun to be addressed. Have only begun to be scratched. In many ways, have only begun to be recognized.”

—Janet Stevenson

I look forward to reading *In These Times* each week—it has articles and insights I can find nowhere else. Even though there are many new publications, I get a special kick out of this one.

—Studs Terkel

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES

NEXT WEEK:

What's happening at the Seabrook nuclear plant now that the demonstrators have gone home, a look at how Brooklyn residents are fighting to

keep their homes safe from fire in the midst of burning neighborhoods, Diana Johnstone on France and a look at the Belgrade talks on the Helsinki accords.

- ☐ Send *In These Times* for 4 trial months. Here's \$6.50.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of *In These Times*. Here's \$15.00.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send *In These Times* for 4 trial months. Here's \$6.50.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of *In These Times*. Here's \$15.00.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

CLASSIFIED

“GREENLINING” Brooklyn College area. Spacious Vict. 2 fam 4-7 —Lg yard; trees. Walk trans. & schools (open classrm pub elem, Summerhill-type coop nursery). \$65,000 212-434-2344.

IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT —plans for the future. Exclusive interview with Chief-of-Staff Cathal Goulding, entitled “Inside the I.R.A.” Send \$1 plus 25¢ postage to RECON, 702 Stanley St., Ypsilanti, MI 48197.

IN THESE TIMES T-SHIRTS have arrived! Order one today for yourself—order one tomorrow for a friend. Yellow with blue lettering. S,M,L,XL. \$5. 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

CIRCULATION MANAGER—Staff position available at IN THESE TIMES for Circulation Manager qualified to develop circulation with trade unions and on university campuses. Call (312) 489-4444 or write 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622 to arrange interview.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP CENTER, Conway, NH (03818) offers vacation and dialogue on current events, June 24-Sept. 6, with Sidney Lens, Martin Sostre, Sid Resnick, Annette Rubinstein and others. Write for brochure and reservation. (603) 477-2280.

BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS. Latest issue: important essay on DPRKorea (north). Also on Chinese dialectical thought, poverty in India, sources on Tibet. Reviews. Radical, readable, anti-imperialist scholarship. Copies: \$2; subs: \$8. BCAS, Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339

PROMOTION DIRECTOR—IN THESE TIMES needs an experienced Promotion Director to organize fund-raising and promotion activities, set up support groups, and solicit funds from individuals. Salary plus commission. Call (312) 489-4444, or write 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622 to arrange an interview.

BUILDER, 53, needs conversation with other socialists. P.O. Box 1799, Vineyard Haven, Mass. 02568.

IWW SONG BOOK: 52 rebel songs with music for International and Joe Hill's Workers of the World Awaken, and General Strike Song: 75 cents. Metal Workers' Guide to Health & Safety, 50 cents. From IWW, 752 W. Webster, Chicago 60614.

ATTENTION CHICAGO READERS —Volunteers wanted to help with circulation/office work at IN THESE TIMES. One hour or one day, your time will help us get out from under a pile of work we can't keep up with. No experience necessary. Call Torie, 489-4444.

WANT TO UNDERSTAND McGOVERN BETTER, learn more about populism, and get some political scuttlebutt? Then you want “South Dakota: Mississippi of the North.” \$1. Write Stevens, 5 University, Vermillion, SD 57069

CLASSIFIED RATES:
\$.15 per word.
10% Prepaid Discount

Moving?

To insure uninterrupted service, send us your new address AND your old address label. And please be sure to include both zip codes.

New Address

Address _____
City, State _____ Zip _____

STRETCH
retirement dollars
Liberal Arkansas development
Homesites, lake
Non-profit building
Information \$1.00 T.S.E.
P.O. Drawer 268, Naperville, IL 60540

ART

Boston artists sponsor *Artists in Exile*

"...Unlike other coups which are only changes in government, this coup attempted to destroy a whole culture, the whole democratic tradition. Because of this, repression against artists was very intense and Chilean culture is now in exile."

The writer of the above is Rene Castro, an artist who was arrested only hours after the 1973 Chilean coup and held for two years before being expelled from Chile. He is one of 20 artists of the Americas (mostly Chilean, but some from other Latin American countries and one U.S. military deserter) whose paintings, drawings and sculpture were recently exhibited by the Boston Visual Artists Union in a show entitled "Artists in Exile."

Political exile is a very special condition. It is not the same as emigration because it is always working to bring about its end. Exiles are not concerned with starting a new life in a new land, but with changing the conditions in the native land that have forced them to leave.

The human content of the personal experience suffered by the artists—struggle, repression, torture, death, sorrow—transformed into art, forms the content of this exhibition. Ironically, the work is intensely beautiful, although in many cases the experience portrayed is horrible beyond imagination.

Rene Castro, for example, now lives in Oakland, Calif., but his work is wholly concerned with the Chilean reality. One of his drawings shows a face with large eyes, a few scribbles, some ink spots and two streams of blood from the nose. In the next drawing, hands cover the nose and bottom of the face, but a trickle of blood still escapes.

At first glance, *El Inquirito*, by Brazilian Guido Rocha, seems a classically restrained sculptural piece: a group of men, perhaps doctors, standing in a semi-circle looking down at something in the central area between them. Part of the head, hands and feet of an

elongated figure protrude from the base—part of a human being buried alive. Rocha uses Christian parallels in his work, and his "Crucifixion of Man" is the symbol of the exhibit. (It was mysteriously stolen during the exhibit.)

Although the other artists do not draw directly on religious imagery, the beauty of their work is much the same as that of religious art depicting the agony and suffering of humankind.

Isabel Letelier, whose husband, the former Chilean ambassador to the U.S., was murdered by a terrorist bomb in Washington, D.C., in September 1976, used to be an abstract painter. Now she models small terra cotta figurines of women that project a loving reverence for life. "I want to create human beings," she explains. "I am very concerned about the quality of skin, which is so fragile."

In sharp contrast are the paintings and drawings of Guillermo Nunez, former director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Santiago. His recent work is full of images of tortured flesh, internal body organs, living tissue stripped of skin, stretched beyond bearing. These paintings are very different from serigraphs he made in 1973 (also included in the exhibit) which are witty, brightly colored political statements.

Nunez was first imprisoned in May 1974. An international campaign was mounted on his behalf and he was released five months later. It was at this time that images of torture first began to appear in his work. After his release he planned a series of exhibitions in Santiago. The first of these took place under the auspices of the French Embassy and contained 'readymades,' cages with objects inside. One of the pieces was a flag-colored tie hanging up-side-down like a noose. The junta understood too well and he was returned to prison. Four months later he was expelled from Chile.

Running concurrently with the exhibition of art works (and still on display in Boston's City Hall,



Sculpture by Isabel Letelier.

Photos by Eva Cockcroft

although the main exhibition is over) is a collection of documents. One item is the prison diary of Guillermo Nunez, and some of his letters to his son.

Another element of "Artists in Exile" is a 12 by 40 foot mural, designed collectively by a team of Chilean and Boston artists and painted in public on the Boston Common on May 7.

Unlike the gallery paintings, which are allusive and introspective, the mural has a poster-like clarity. The subject is a visual translation of the history of Chile from the innocence of the election (a child standing before a rising shadow) through the brutality of the coup (the generals and the victims) to hope for the future, including some lines from Neruda:

"Our original guiding stars are struggle and hope."

The mural is portable and will eventually be installed at Blackstone School in the Latino community in Boston.

"Artists in Exile" was conceived and put together by Boston artist Nyna Polunbaum for the Boston Visual Artists Union. With a thousand members, BVAU is one of the largest and oldest artists unions formed in the artists' rights movement of the 1960s. This exhibition, to which Polunbaum has devoted much of the past year, was motivated by the desire of Boston artists to extend a hand to artists in other countries who have suffered repression.

First, the money to bring Artists in Exile to Boston was raised through private donations. Then the complicated process of contacting the artists in their countries of exile began. Chile's

most famous artist, Matta, donated four pieces to the exhibit. John Berger, well-known English critic and novelist wrote an eloquent introduction to the catalogue, which, because of political complications has become a collectors' item.

Copies of the catalogue are still available at the BVAU, 3 Center Plaza, Boston, 02108 at \$4 a copy with silk screens and \$7.50 with original drawings.

"Artists in Exile Part II" is currently on display in Boston and includes the mural from Part I, and a very large display of source materials, sketches and many versions of the design by the team that created it. There is a 20-minute slide show documenting the 6-hour collective effort that brought it to life. Also on display are the works of three Cuban artists, one who lives in England and two who live in the U.S.

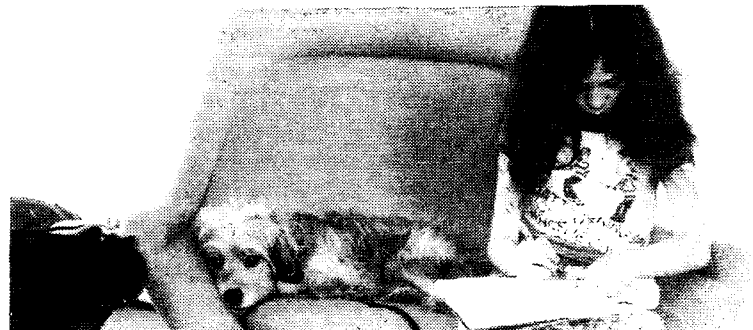
Interviewed by IN THESE TIMES

on the possibility of traveling the exhibition to other cities, Polunbaum says, "We tried to interest people in a traveling exhibition, but nobody was willing to take even a fraction of the risk we took without a guarantee that it would be a great show. After it opened—really too late for arranging premium space—we were deluged with requests about touring it. It's too late."

"All the unsold work goes back to the artists in the next few weeks. Much of it is quite stunning. If others are interested in such an exhibition, we can tell them it was a great experience. But they need time, money and know-how. We'd be willing to talk to anyone with a serious interest."

—Eva Cockcroft

Eva Cockcroft is a muralist and one of the authors of *Toward a People's Art: The Contemporary Mural Movement*.



Karen Morrill

Exclusive: Esme talks to Benji

FOR THE LOVE OF BENJI
Written by Ben Vaughn and Joe Camp
Directed by Joe Camp
Starring Benji, Cynthia Smith, Patsy Garrett, Allen Fiuzat and Ed Nelson
Rated G

Before we saw the movie we went to report on Benji in person and asked him questions. Here are his answers:

His first movie was *Benji*, but it was his father who was starring in it. The original Benji was from Mexico and was brought from an animal shelter. This is the son of Benji and was born in Frank Inn's house. Frank Inn is the trainer of them both.

We saw Benji at a TV studio after he was practicing for a show with Bozo, the clown. The producer was there too and he answered some of our questions.

Benji has won awards like the Patsy (which is like the Oscar but for animals). He likes being in front of the camera, and his trainer likes watching him act. Benji could always do tricks, but

sometimes he made mistakes. Now he doesn't.

He would not make a very good watch dog. He has many friends like a dog named Tiff and about six cats, a great Dane and some other dogs. He has a pet parakeet named Alfred.

Benji goes fishing with his trainer and likes to eat the fish when it's without bones. He likes steak and that kind of bones, cottage cheese and vanilla ice cream. He doesn't chew shoes. And he has been in lots of cities and states and even countrys including Greece.

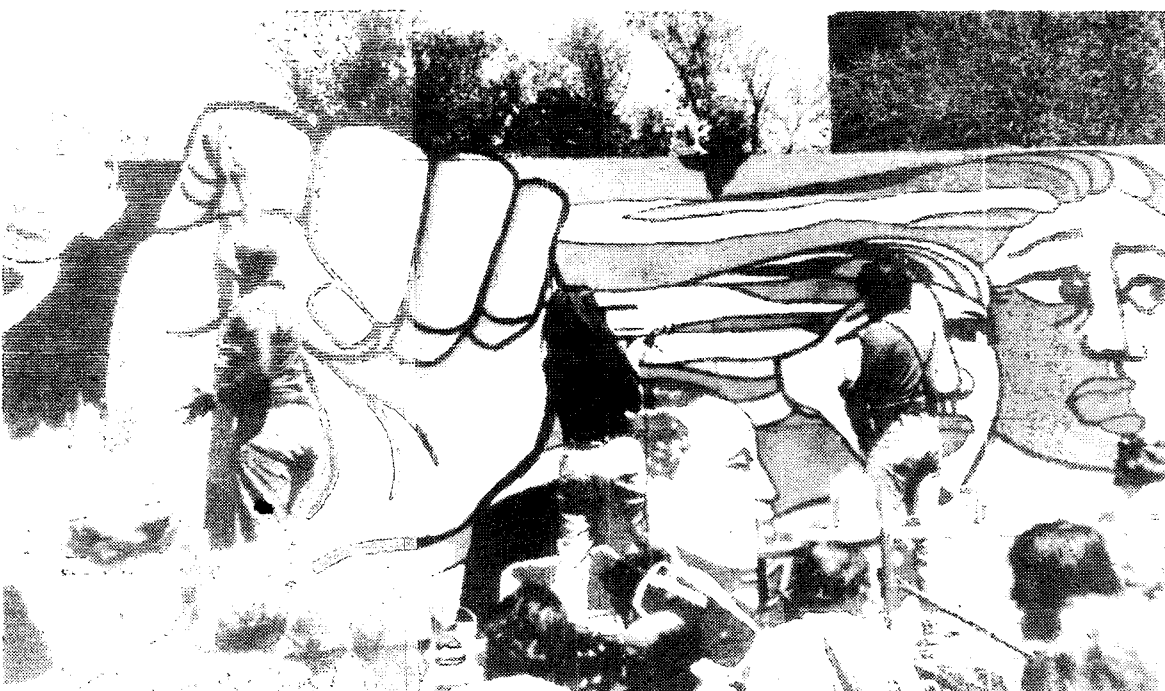
The movie *For the Love of Benji* was mostly running around with Benji.

Once a German shepard saved Benji. The bad guy (Mr. Dietrich) seemed like a good guy but he also tried to get Benji. It was strange when Cindy (his owner), was kidnapped.

But it was a wonderful movie.

—Esme Codell

Esme Codell is eight years old and intends to be a sports writer when she is older.



Boston and Chilean artists painting mural on Boston Common.

Creativity amidst change



Freire rejects the notion—recently popularized by Ivan Illich—that schools as such are oppressive. “School is a historical and social category and it depends on the task that the society sets for itself whether the school is good or bad.”

“Education is a political act,” says Paulo Freire. “The educator is a politician. Neutrality is nothing but a way to hide our choice. Education is mainly ideology and politics.”

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Despite the popular imagery, alternative schools aren't simply “do your own thing” reserves of clay modeling and free-fighting with classmates as forms of creative expression, reserved for children of enlightened or hip professionals. As many as three-fourths of the estimated 1,000 “alternative community schools”—not counting segregationist academies or traditional private schools for the rich or religious—work with the drop-outs, kick-outs and mutual rejects of public schools in poor city neighborhoods. Many of them double as centers of community activity and political organization.

If the 1,600 people who came in early June to a national conference in Chicago called by the Alternative Schools Network are any indication, the teachers in these schools are becoming much more self-consciously socialist. They are also forming tenuous links with teachers in public schools who want to bring not only new techniques but also community control and liberating political sentiments into the stony grey fortresses of the public school system.

Long absent from discussions among teachers, that socialist perspective is becoming much more important. One basic text is *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by a Brazilian-in-exile, Paulo Freire. “It's Freire who began to open it up again,” Herbert Kohl, author of *36 Children*, says, “and to ask how does this [educational change] connect with socialism and world revolution. He was the one that brought this movement to a whole differ-

ent level of consciousness, and it's grown very much more than we had expected.”

A placid look on his grey-bearded face, white hair trailing down his back, a cigaret poised in the air while carefully choosing his thoughts, Paulo Freire has the air of a cross between a French cafe intellectual and a Buddha. He would prefer to think of himself as a revolutionary militant. Most people know him as a teacher and theorist of education, as in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

Born to middle class parents in Recife, Brazil, 55 years ago, Freire as a Depression-era child was at times so hungry he could not learn. But he had faith in his abilities and eventually became a teacher.

His own experiences and exposure to the poor peasants of the Brazilian Northeast led him to a preoccupation with adult literacy. In 1963 he was given a chance by a newly elected socialist local government to start a program of “circles of culture” for peasants.

It was a remarkable success. In 30 to 40 hours of classroom time, the peasants learned how to read basic materials. Even more important, from Freire's viewpoint, through their discussion of a carefully created series of drawings of familiar scenes, they came to see themselves not as unchanging products of nature but as creators of culture who could change society.

When the military took over in 1964, Freire was briefly jailed and his program was stopped. After years in exile in Chile, the U.S. and Switzerland, he was recently invited by the newly liberated Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome to help set up ed-

ucational programs that could not only reverse the colonial legacy of illiteracy but also help to shape a new socialist society.

Deeply affected by Africa.

Freire's talks with small groups of teachers and political activists in Chicago in early June showed how deeply the African work has affected his views on education. “If I had died before having this experience in Africa, I would have left the world with a gap in my existential experience,” he said. “Africa gave me a reason to live, to exist. You can't realize what it means to participate in the effort that people make to create their society, to re-create themselves. It's beautiful as well to see the participation of Cuba in such an effort..., how Cuba affirms her presence as comrade, not invader.”

As in all his work, Freire first studied the popular language and culture, then worked with the new officials to shape an educational program that would come out of the experience of the people and not be a “cultural invasion.” Education for Freire is not “banking” accumulated treasures passed on by the guardian/teacher but learning how to be creative and inventive, especially in changing society.

“My preoccupation [in the Brazilian literacy campaign] was not just to teach people to read and write, [I wanted] to make the possibility of reading and writing a challenge to the people to think of the reasons for their being an oppressed class in order for them to organize themselves to change society. My preoccupation was political, not pedagogical.”

At that time Freire talked about the need for “conscientization,” a heightening of peasants' consciousness about themselves and their world, but since then he has preferred to talk about the primary importance of “militancy” in politics for the teacher to be effective.

“Education is a political act,” he argued. “Then the educator is a politician, is a militant. Neutrality is nothing but a way to hide our choice. If I say I am neutral, it is because I am hiding some choice. Some people say education has nothing to do with politics and ideology. On the contrary, education is mainly ideology and politics.”

Opposes Illich.

From that perspective Freire rejects the notion—recently popularized by Ivan Il-

lich—that schools as such are oppressive. “This statement is metaphysical and not historical,” he said. “It is as if school were a metaphysical category, analyzed here as bad. For me school is a historical and social category and it depends on the task that the society sets for itself whether the school is good or bad.”

Likewise even in teaching such seemingly neutral, technical material as how to plant potatoes, Freire sees political issues. “In the knowledge of how to cultivate potatoes, there is something that goes beyond cultivation. It's who cultivates and for whom. We have the matters of planting, but also the question of the role of those who plant potatoes in the process of production. It's very important that peasants think about the meaning of their work.”

Freire also argued that schools must break down artificial ideological divisions between teaching and learning, education and work. “There is no dichotomy, no division of teaching and learning,” he said. “To the extent that I teach I have to learn. To the extent that I learn, I can teach. It does not mean that I stop being a teacher but that I stop being exclusively a teacher and everyday I learn with my students.”

Teaching and learning involve a dialog not only between teachers and students but also between work and thinking. In Guinea-Bissau the few students in the country were strongly influenced by Portuguese ways of thinking. When they were told it would be good for them to work with the peasants, they responded, “What can the peasants teach us? We are not here to learn to work with our hands.” Freire's team responded, “We only say it's necessary historically. We have to recreate our country.” At first only a few students volunteered but soon the early morning treks to the field were even more popular than classes.

Division between hand and brain.

Freire believes that such an approach is necessary to wipe out the cultural heritage of classes and the division between types of work stressing exclusively either hand or brain. Many young radical teachers, discouraged by their minimal influence on American society and feeling guilty about being educated and from “middle class” backgrounds, feel that as intellectuals they are not as legitimately revolutionary as the downtrodden poor or manual workers. Freire, referring to the writings of the African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral, tried to mollify their anxiety about being from “the wrong class.”

“The question is not whether or not I am a worker,” he said. “The question is whether I can be at a particular historical moment. The only possibility for the petit bourgeois intellectuals to make a real contribution to the revolutionary process is to commit class suicide in order to be born again as a revolutionary worker. I cannot commit that class suicide in the intimacy of my library in Geneva. I can only do that in political struggle. It is so difficult to die [to one's class], for in the last analysis it means to refuse all the values through which we have been shaped.”

There's a deep gulf between Freire's experiences in the drought-stricken Northeast of Brazil or the makeshift new revolutionary regimes of Africa and the trials of teaching in a ghetto—or suburban—high school in the U.S. Yet there are at least a few common lessons. Education is unavoidably political even—and perhaps even more so—when it appears apolitical. Education can be a way to “lay on culture” and domesticate young people, or it can be the way in which people are liberated to realize that they are, given a chance, not only the products of their culture but also creators of their culture.